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L. A. POST, L.H.D. E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

I

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THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

I

THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

I

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INTRODUCTION

Flavius Claudius Julianus,[1] son of Julius Constantius and nephew of the Emperor Constantine, was born at Constantinople in 331 a.d. His father, eldest brother, and cousins were slain in the massacre by which Constantius, Constantine II., and Constans secured the empire for themselves on the death of their father Constantine in 337. Julian and his elder brother Gallus spent a precarious childhood and youth, of which six years were passed in close confinement in the remote castle of Macellum in Cappadocia, and their position was hardly more secure when, in 350, Gallus was elevated to the Caesarship by Constantius, who, after the violent deaths of his two brothers, was now sole ruler of the empire. But Julian was allowed to pursue his favourite studies in Greek literature and philosophy, partly at Nicomedia and Athens, partly in the cities

[1] The chief sources for the life of Julian are his *Orations*, his *Letter to the Athenians*, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the *Orations* and *Epistles* of Libanius.

of Asia Minor, and he was deeply influenced by Maximus of Ephesus, the occult philosopher, Libanius of Nicomedia, the fashionable sophist, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator, the only genuine philosopher among the sophists of the fourth century A.D.

When the excesses of the revolutionary Gallus ended in his death at the hands of Constantius, Julian, an awkward and retiring student, was summoned to the court at Milan, where he was protected by the Empress Eusebia from the suspicions of Constantius and the intrigues of hostile courtiers. Constantius had no heir to continue the dynasty of the Constantii. He therefore raised Julian to the Caesarship in 355, gave him his sister Helena in marriage, and dispatched him to Gaul to pacify the Gallic provinces. To the surprise of all, Julian in four successive campaigns against the Franks and the Alemani proved himself a good soldier and a popular general. His *Commentaries* on these campaigns are praised by Eunapius[1] and Libanius,[2] but are not now extant. In 357–358 Constantius, who was occupied by wars against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, and threatened with a renewal of hostilities by the Persian king Sapor, ordered Julian,

[1] fr. 89. [2] Epistle, 33.

who was then at Paris, to send to his aid the best of the Gallic legions. Julian would have obeyed, but his troops, unwilling to take service in the East, mutinied and proclaimed him Emperor (360 A.D.). Julian issued manifestoes justifying his conduct to the Senates of Rome and Athens and to the Spartans and Corinthians, a characteristic anachronism, since their opinion no longer had any weight. It was not till 361 that he began his march eastward to encounter the army of Constantius. His troops, though seasoned and devoted, were in numbers no match for the legions of his cousin. But the latter, while marching through Cilicia to oppose his advance, died suddenly of a fever near Tarsus, and Julian, now in his thirtieth year, succeeded peacefully to the throne and made a triumphal entry into Constantinople in December, 361.

The eunuchs and courtiers who had surrounded Constantius were replaced by sophists and philosophers, and in the next six months Julian set on foot numerous economic and administrative reforms. He had long been secretly devoted to the Pagan religion, and he at once proclaimed the restoration of the Pagan gods and the temple worship. Christianity he tolerated, and in his brief reign of sixteen months the Christians were not actively persecuted. His

treatise *Against the Christians,* which survives only in fragments, was an explanation of his apostasy. The epithet "Apostate" was bestowed on him by the Christian Fathers. Meanwhile he was preparing—first at Constantinople then at Antioch, where he wrote the *Misopogon,* a satire on the luxury and frivolity of the inhabitants—for a campaign against Sapor, a task which he had inherited from Constantius. In March, 363 he left Antioch and crossed the Euphrates, visited Carrhae, memorable for the defeat of Crassus, then crossed the Tigris, and, after burning his fleet, retired northwards towards Armenia. On the march he fought an indecisive battle with the Persians at Maranga, and in a skirmish with the retreating enemy he was mortally wounded by a javelin (June 27, 363). His body was carried to Tarsus by his successor the Emperor Jovian, and was probably removed later to Constantinople. The legend that as he died he exclaimed : Γαλιλαῖε νενίκηκας, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!" appears first in the Christian historian Theodoret in the fifth century. Julian was the last male descendant of the famous dynasty founded by Constantius Chlorus.

In spite of his military achievements, he was, first of all, a student. Even on his campaigns he took his

books with him, and several of his extant works were composed in camp. He had been trained, according to the fashion of his times, in rhetorical studies by professional sophists such as Libanius, and he has all the mannerisms of a fourth century sophist. It was the sophistic etiquette to avoid the direct use of names, and Julian never names the usurpers Magnentius, Silvanus, and Vetranio, whose suppression by Constantius he describes in his two first *Orations*, regularly refers to Sapor as "the barbarian," and rather than name Mardonius, his tutor, calls him "a certain Scythian who had the same name as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Hellas."[1] He wrote the literary Greek of the fourth century A.D. which imitates the classical style, though barbarisms and late constructions are never entirely avoided. His pages are crowded with echoes of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato, and Isocrates, and his style is interwoven with half verses, phrases, and whole sentences taken without acknowledgment from the Greek masterpieces. It is certain that, like other sophists, he wished his readers to recognise these echoes, and therefore his source is always classical, so that where he seems to imitate Dio Chrysostom or Themistius, both go back to a common source, which

[1] 352 A.

Julian had in mind. Another sophistic element in his style is the use of commonplaces, literary allusions that had passed into the sophistic language and can be found in all the writers of reminiscence Greek in his day. He himself derides this practice[1] but he cannot resist dragging in the well-worn references to Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander, to the nepenthe poured out by Helen in the *Odyssey,* to the defiance of nature by Xerxes, or the refusal of Socrates to admit the happiness of the Great King. Julian wished to make Neo-Platonism the philosophy of his revived Hellenism, but he belonged to the younger or Syrian branch of the school, of which Iamblichus was the real founder, and he only once mentions Plotinus. Iamblichus he ranked with Plato and paid him a fanatical devotion. His philosophical writing, especially in the two prose *Hymns,* is obscure, partly because his theories are only vaguely realised, partly because he reproduces the obscurity of his model, Iamblichus. In satire and narrative he can be clear and straightforward.

[1] 236 A.

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[1] The text of the present edition is Hertlein's, revised.

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THE ORATIONS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION I

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION I

Julian's training in rhetoric left its mark on all his writings, but technically speaking his work as a Sophist is comprised in the three panegyrics (Orations 1–3) and the prose "Hymns" (Orations 4–5). Oration 1 was considered his masterpiece and was used as a model by Libanius. It was written and probably delivered in 355 A.D., before Julian went to Gaul. The excuse of being an amateur is a commonplace (τόπος) in this type of epideictic speech. He follows with hardly a deviation the rules for the arrangement and treatment of a speech in praise of an emperor (βασιλικὸς λόγος) as we find them in Menander's handbook of epideictic oratory written in the third century A.D. The speech is easily analysed. First comes the prooemium to conciliate the audience and to give the threads of the argument, then the praises of the emperor's native land, ancestors, early training, deeds in war (ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος) and in peace (ὁ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγος), and the stereotyped contrasts with the Persian monarchs, the Homeric heroes, and Alcibiades. In the two last divisions the virtues of Plato's ideal king are proved to have been displayed by Constantius, his victories are exaggerated and his

defeats explained away. Then comes a description of the happy state of the empire and the army under such a ruler, and the panegyric ends abruptly without the final prayer (εὐχή) for the continuance of his reign, recommended by Menander. This peroration has evidently been lost. The arrangement closely resembles that of Oration 3, the panegyric on the Empress Eusebia, and the "Evagoras" of Isocrates, which Julian frequently echoes. Julian's praises were thoroughly insincere, a compulsory tribute to a cousin whom he hated and feared.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΟΝ

Πάλαι με προθυμούμενον, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ,
τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πράξεις ὑμνῆσαι καὶ
τοὺς πολέμους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τυραν-
νίδας ὅπως ἀνῄρηκας, τῆς μὲν λόγῳ καὶ πειθοῖ
τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποστήσας, τῆς δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις
κρατήσας, τὸ μέγεθος εἶργε τῶν πράξεων, οὐ τὸ
βραχὺ λειφθῆναι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἔργων δεινὸν
κρίνοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ παντελῶς τῆς ὑποθέσεως
διαμαρτεῖν δόξαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς πολιτικ-
οὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν ποίησιν διατρίβουσιν οὐδὲν
θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥᾳδίως ἔξεστιν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐπαί-
νοις τῶν σοι πραχθέντων· περίεστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ 2
τῆς τοῦ λέγειν μελέτης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδεί-
ξεις συνηθείας τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐν δίκῃ. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν
τοιούτου μέρους κατωλιγώρησαν, ὥρμησαν δ' ἐφ'
ἕτερον παιδείας εἶδος καὶ λόγων ξυγγραφὴν οὐ
δήμῳ κεχαρισμένην οὐδ' ἐς θέατρα παντοδαπὰ
τολμῶσαν ἀποδύεσθαι, πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἔχοιεν
ἂν εἰκότως εὐλαβεστέρως. ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἄδηλον
τοῦθ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς Μοῦσαι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν B
ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιπνεομένους τὴν ποίησιν γράφειν ἄφθονον

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS

I HAVE long desired, most mighty Emperor, to sing the praises of your valour and achievements, to recount your campaigns, and to tell how you suppressed the tyrannies; how your persuasive eloquence drew away one usurper's[1] bodyguard; how you overcame another[2] by force of arms. But the vast scale of your exploits deterred me, because what I had to dread was not that my words would fall somewhat short of your achievements, but that I should prove wholly unequal to my theme. That men versed in political debate, or poets, should find it easy to compose a panegyric on your career is not at all surprising. Their practice in speaking, their habit of declaiming in public supplies them abundantly with a well-warranted confidence. But those who have neglected this field and chosen another branch of literary study which devotes itself to a form of composition little adapted to win popular favour and that has not the hardihood to exhibit itself in its nakedness in every theatre, no matter what, would naturally hesitate to make speeches of the epideictic sort. As for the poets, their Muse, and the general belief that it is she who inspires their verse, obviously gives them unlimited

[1] Vetranio. [2] Magnentius.

παρέχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πλάσματος· τοῖς ῥήτορσι δὲ ἡ τέχνη τὴν ἴσην παρέσχεν ἄδειαν, τὸ μὲν πλάττειν ἀφελομένη, τὸ δὲ κολακεύειν οὐδαμῶς ἀπαγορεύσασα, οὐδὲ αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην τῷ λέγοντι τὸ ψευδῶς[1] ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐπαίνου κρίνασα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπειδὰν καινόν τινα μῦθον καὶ μηδέπω τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπινοηθέντα φέρωσιν αὐτοὶ ξυνθέντες, τῷ ξένῳ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ψυχαγωγήσαντες πλέον θαυμάζονται· οἱ δὲ τῆς τέχνης ἀπολαῦσαί φασιν ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι περὶ τῶν μικρῶν μειζόνως διελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀφελεῖν τῶν ἔργων τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὅλως ἀντιτάττειν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει τὴν δύναμιν[2] τῶν λόγων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων ταύτης ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν χρείᾳ τῆς τέχνης, ἦγον ἂν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἡσυχίαν τοῖς ἀμελετήτως ἔχουσι τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, παραχωρῶν τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων ἐκείνοις, ὧν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαν τοὐναντίον ὁ παρὼν ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος τῶν πραγμάτων ἁπλῆν διήγησιν οὐδενὸς ἐπεισάκτου κόσμου δεομένην, ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ προσήκειν, τοῦ[3] ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀνεφίκτου καὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν[4] ἤδη φανέντος. ἅπαντες γὰρ σχεδὸν οἱ περὶ παιδείαν διατρίβοντές σε[5] ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ καταλογάδην ὑμνοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἅπαντα περιλαβεῖν ἐν βραχεῖ τολμῶντες, οἱ δὲ μέρεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπιδόντες τῶν πράξεων ἀρκεῖν ᾠήθησαν,

[1] ψεῦδος V. [2] τὴν δύναμιν Wyttenbach, δύνασθαι τὴν MSS, Hertlein. [3] τοῦ Reiske adds. [4] τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, τότε προλαβοῦσιν MSS. [5] σε Schaefer adds.

license to invent. To rhetoricians the art of rhetoric allows just as much freedom; fiction is denied them, but flattery is by no means forbidden, nor is it counted a disgrace to the orator that the object of his panegyric should not deserve it. Poets who compose and publish some legend that no one had thought of before increase their reputation, because an audience is entertained by the mere fact of novelty. Orators, again, assert [1] that the advantage of their art is that it can treat a slight theme in the grand manner, and again, by the use of mere words, strip the greatness from deeds, and, in short, marshall the power of words against that of facts.

If, however, I had seen that on this occasion I should need their art, I should have maintained the silence that befits those who have had no practice in such forms of composition, and should leave your praises to be told by those whom I just now mentioned. Since, on the contrary, the speech I am to make calls for a plain narrative of the facts and needs no adventitious ornament, I thought that even I was not unfit, seeing that my predecessors had already shown that it was beyond them to produce a record worthy of your achievements. For almost all who devote themselves to literature attempt to sing your praises in verse or prose; some of them venture to cover your whole career in a brief narrative, while others devote themselves to a part only, and think that if they succeed in doing justice to that part they have proved themselves equal to the task.

[1] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 42 c.

εἰ τούτων τῆς ἀξίας μὴ διαμάρτοιεν. ἄξιον δὲ ἄγασθαι τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων, ὅσοι τῶν σῶν ἐπαίνων ἥψαντο. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν σοι πραχθέντων ἀμαυρωθείη, τὸν μέγιστον ὑποδῦναι πόνον ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτήσειν ἤλπιζον, τὴν αὑτῶν γνώμην ἐν μέρει προὔφηναν, ἄμεινον τοῦ τῆς σιωπῆς ἀκινδύνου γέρως κρίναντες κατὰ δύναμίν σοι τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἀπάρξασθαι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς ὢν ἐτύγχανον τῶν τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικοὺς ἀγαπώντων λόγους, ἐχρῆν ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως, τὴν ἴσην εὔνοιαν ἀπαιτήσαντα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἤδη σοι παρ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ δεηθέντα τῶν λόγων ἀκροατὴν εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀπαραίτητον κριτὴν καταστῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις μαθήμασι τραφέντες καὶ παιδευθέντες, καθάπερ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ νόμοις, ἀλλοτρίων κατατολμᾶν ἔργων δοκοῦμεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς, μικρά μοι δοκεῖ χρῆναι καὶ περὶ τούτων δηλῶσαι, οἰκειοτέραν ἀρχὴν προθέντα τοῦ λόγου.

Νόμος ἐστὶ παλαιὸς παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθρώποις φήναντος οὑτωσὶ κείμενος· ἅπαντας πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν βλέποντας ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν ξυνουσίαις, ἐν πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον μικροῖς καὶ μείζοσι τοῦ καλοῦ πάντως ἐφίεσθαι. πάντων δὲ ὅτι κάλλιστον ἀρετή, τίς ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων ἀμφισβητήσειε; ταύτης τοίνυν ἀντέχεσθαι διακελεύεται τοὺς μὴ μάτην τουτὶ περιοίσοντας

Yet one can but admire the zeal of all who have made you the theme of a panegyric. Some did not shrink from the tremendous effort to secure every one of your achievements from the withering touch of time; others, because they foresaw that they could not compass the whole, expressed themselves only in part, and chose to consecrate to you their individual work so far as they were able. Better this, they thought, than "the reward of silence that runs no risk."[1]

Now if I were one of those whose favourite pursuit is epideictic oratory, I should have to begin my speech by asking from you no less goodwill than I now feel towards yourself, and should beg you graciously to incline your ear to my words and not play the part of a severe and inexorable critic. But since, bred as I have been and educated in other studies, other pursuits, other conventions, I am criticised for venturing rashly into fields that belong to others, I feel that I ought to explain myself briefly on this head and begin my speech more after my own fashion.

There is an ancient maxim taught by him who first introduced philosophy to mankind, and it is as follows. All who aspire to virtue and the beautiful must study in their words, deeds, conversation, in short, in all the affairs of life, great and small, to aim in every way at beauty. Now what sensible man would deny that virtue is of all things the most beautiful? Wherefore those are bidden to lay firm hold on her who do not seek to blazon abroad her name in vain,

[1] Simonides *fr*. 66. Horace, *Odes* 3. 2. 25.

τοὔνομα, προσῆκον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς σφετερισαμένους. ταῦτα δὴ διαγορεύων ὁ νόμος οὐδεμίαν ἰδέαν ἐπιτάττει λόγων, οὐδ᾽ ὥσπερ ἔκ τινος τραγικῆς μηχανῆς, φησί, χρῆναι προαγορεύει τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι σπεύδειν μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀποφεύγειν δὲ τὴν πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δίδωσι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουληθέντι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν. καὶ γὰρ παραίνεσιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ λόγων προτρεπτικῶν χρῆσιν καὶ τὸ μετ᾽ εὐνοίας ἐπιπλήττειν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐπαινεῖν τε αὖ τὰ καλῶς πραχθέντα καὶ ψέγειν, ὅταν ᾖ καιρός, τὰ μὴ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων. ἐφίησι δὲ καὶ[1] ταῖς ἄλλαις ἰδέαις, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι, πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν λόγων χρῆσθαι, ἐπὶ παντὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράξει μεμνῆσθαι προστάττων, ὅπῃ τούτων ὑφέξουσιν εὐθύνας, ὧν ἂν τύχωσιν εἰπόντες, λέγειν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀνοίσουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄρα τί ποτε δράσομεν, εἰργόμενοι μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς χάριν τὴν εὐφημίαν, τοῦ γένους δὲ ἤδη τῶν ἐπαίνων διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς μετιόντας ὑπόπτου καθεστῶτος δεινῶς, καὶ κολακείας ἀγεννοῦς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μαρτυρίας ἀληθοῦς τῶν ἀρίστων ἔργων εἶναι νομισθέντος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τῇ περὶ τὸν ἐπαινούμενον ἀρετῇ πεπιστευκότες ἐπιδώσομεν ἑαυτοὺς θαρροῦντες τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις; τίς ἂν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴ καὶ τάξις τοῦ λόγου γένοιτο καλλίστη; ἢ δῆλον ὡς ἡ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετή, δι᾽ ἣν ὑπῆρξέ σοι καὶ τὸ τοιούτῳ γενέσθαι; τροφῆς

[1] καὶ Reiske adds.

appropriating that which in no way belongs to them. Now in giving this counsel, the maxim does not prescribe any single type of discourse, nor does it proclaim to its readers, like a god from the machine in tragedy, "Ye must aspire to virtue and eschew evil." Many are the paths that it allows a man to follow to this goal, if he desire to imitate the nature of the beautiful. For example, he may give good advice, or use hortatory discourse, or he may rebuke error without malice, or applaud what is well done, or condemn, on occasion, what is ill done. It permits men also to use other types of oratory, if they please, so as to attain the best end of speech, but it enjoins on them to take thought in every word and act how they shall give account of all they utter, and to speak no word that cannot be referred to the standard of virtue and philosophy. That and more to the same effect is the tenour of that precept.

And now, what am I to do? What embarrasses me is the fact that, if I praise you, I shall be thought simply to curry favour, and in fact, the department of panegyric has come to incur a grave suspicion due to its misuse, and is now held to be base flattery rather than trustworthy testimony to heroic deeds. Is it not obvious that I must put my faith in the merit of him whom I undertake to praise, and with full confidence devote my energies to this panegyric? What then shall be the prelude of my speech and the most suitable arrangement? Assuredly I must begin with the virtues of your ancestors through which it was possible for you to come to be what you are. Next I think it will be proper to describe

δὲ οἶμαι καὶ παιδείας ἑξῆς προσήκει μνησθῆναι, ἥπερ σοι τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀρετὴν συνεισηνέγκατο, ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ γνωρίσματα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν τὰς πράξεις διελθεῖν, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτιθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἕξεις δηλῶσαι, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενος τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἔδρασας καὶ ἐβουλεύσω. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων διοίσειν τὸν λόγον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἵστανται, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενοι πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐφημίαν τὸ τούτων μνησθῆναι, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι δεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸν πλεῖστον λόγον ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἦλθες. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔργων, σχεδὸν δὲ πάντα, τύχη καὶ δορυφόροι καὶ στρατιωτῶν φάλαγγες καὶ τάξεις ἱππέων[1] συγκατορθοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα μόνου τέ ἐστι τοῦ δράσαντος, καὶ ὁ ἐκ τούτων ἔπαινος ἀληθὴς καθεστὼς ἴδιός ἐστι τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν σαφῶς διώρισται, τῶν λόγων ἄρξομαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπαίνων νόμος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τῆς πατρίδος ἢ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιοῖ μεμνῆσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τίνα χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν πατρίδα σήν· ἔθνη γὰρ μυρία περὶ ταύτης ἀμφισβητεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον. καὶ ἡ μὲν βασιλεύουσα τῶν ἁπάντων πόλις, μήτηρ οὖσα σὴ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης παρασχοῦσα, ἐξαίρετον αὐτῆς φησιν εἶναι τὸ γέρας, οὐ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐφ' ἁπάντων τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων δικαίοις χρωμένη· λέγω δὲ ὅτι, κἂν ἀλλα-

[1] ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν MSS.

your upbringing and education, since these contributed very much to the noble qualities that you possess, and when I have dealt with all these, I must recount your achievements, the signs and tokens, as it were, of the nobility of your soul, and finally, as the crown and consummation of my discourse, I shall set forth those personal qualities from which was evolved all that was noble in your projects and their execution. It is in this respect that I think my speech will surpass those of all the others. For some limit themselves to your exploits, with the idea that a description of these suffices for a perfect panegyric, but for my part I think one ought to devote the greater part of one's speech to the virtues that were the stepping-stones by which you reached the height of your achievements. Military exploits in most cases, nay in almost all, are achieved with the help of fortune, the body-guard, heavy infantry and cavalry regiments. But virtuous actions belong to the doer alone, and the praise that they inspire, if it be sincere, belongs only to the possessor of such virtue. Now, having made this distinction clear, I will begin my speech.

The rules of panegyric require that I should mention your native land no less than your ancestors. But I am at a loss what country I ought to consider peculiarly yours. For countless nations have long asserted their claim to be your country. The city[1] that rules over them all was your mother and nurse, and in an auspicious hour delivered to you the imperial sceptre, and therefore asserts her sole title to the honour, and that not merely by resorting to the plea that has prevailed under all the emperors.

[1] Rome.

χόθεν τυγχάνωσι, τῷ μετέχειν ἅπαντας ἤδη τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν καταδειχθεῖσιν ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι πολῖται γεγόνασιν· οὔκουν οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὡς[1] τεκοῦσα τὴν σὴν μητέρα D
καὶ θρεψαμένη βασιλικῶς καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκγόνων[2] ἀξίως. ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Βοσπόρῳ πόλις, ὅλου τοῦ γένους τοῦ Κωνσταντίων ἐπώνυμος, πατρὶς μὲν οὐκ εἶναί φησι, γεγονέναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἰήσεται, εἰ ταύτης γοῦν τις αὐτὴν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συγγενείας ἀφαιροῖτο. Ἰλλυριοὶ δέ, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς γέγονας, οὐκ ἀνέξονται τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν εὐτυχημάτων στερόμενοι, εἴ τις ἄλλην σοι πατρίδα προσνέμοι. 6
ἀκούω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τῶν ἑῴων ἤδη τινὰς λέγειν, ὅτι μὴ δίκαια δρῶμεν ἀφαιρούμενοι σφᾶς τὸν ἐπὶ σοὶ λόγον· αὐτοὶ γάρ φασι τὴν τήθην ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ σοῦ προπέμψαι γάμον. καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ προφάσεις ἐπινοοῦντες μικρὰς ἢ μείζονας αὑτοῖς σε[3] εἰσποιεῖν ἐκ παντὸς ἐγνώκασιν. ἐχέτω μὲν οὖν τὸ γέρας ἣν αὐτὸς ἐθέλεις, καὶ ἣν ἀρετῶν μητέρα καὶ B
διδάσκαλον πολλάκις ἐπαινῶν εἴρηκας, τυγχανόντων δὲ ἑκάστη κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αἱ λοιπαὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν ἁπάσας

[1] γεγόνασιν· οὐκοῦν ὡς MSS, οὔκουν ἀλλ' ὡς M, οὔκουν οὕτως, ἀλλ ὡς Hertlein suggests.
[2] ἐκγόνων Wright, ἐγγόνων MSS, Hertlein.
[3] σε Schaefer adds.

I mean that, even if men are born elsewhere, they all adopt her constitution and use the laws and customs that she has promulgated, and by that fact become Roman citizens. But her claim is different, namely that she gave your mother birth, rearing her royally and as befitted the offspring who were to be born to her. Then again, the city on the Bosporus which is named after the family of the Constantii, though she does not assert that she is your native place, but acknowledges that she became your adopted land by your father's act, will think she is cheated of her rights if any orator should try to deprive her of at least this claim to kinship. Thirdly, the Illyrians, on whose soil you were born, will not tolerate it if anyone assign you a different fatherland and rob them of the fairest gift of fortune. And now I hear some even of the Eastern provinces protest that it is unjust of me to rob them of the lustre they derive from you. For they say that they sent forth your grandmother to be the consort of your grandfather on the mother's side. Almost all the rest have hit on some pretension of more or less weight, and are determined, on one ground or another, to adopt you for their own. Therefore let that country[1] have the prize which you yourself prefer and have so often praised as the mother and teacher of the virtues; as for the rest, let each one according to her deserts obtain her due. I should be glad to praise them all, worthy as they are of glory and honour, but I am

[1] Rome.

ἐθέλοιμ'[1] ἂν ἀξίας οὔσας δόξης[2] καὶ τιμῆς, ὀκνῶ δὲ μὴ διὰ τὸ μῆκος, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ λίαν οἰκεῖα τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀλλότρια φανῇ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπαίνους διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ, τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συλλαβὼν ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀρετῆς προσειπών, τῷ δοῦναι τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ἐγκωμίων, τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων λόγους ἀφῄρησαι. τί γὰρ λέξομεν ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον ἕτερον; τί δὲ ἄλλος τις εἰπεῖν ἔχει; ὥστε μοι δοκῶ σεβόμενος εἰκότως τὴν πόλιν τούτῳ τιμᾶν αὐτὴν πλέον, τῷ παραχωρεῖν σοι τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν λόγων.

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς σῆς ἴσως ἄξιον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν βραχεῖ διελθεῖν. ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἔοικα κἀνταῦθα, πόθεν ἄρχεσθαι χρή. πρόγονοί τε γάρ εἰσί σοι καὶ πάπποι καὶ γονεῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ καὶ ξυγγενεῖς βασιλεῖς ἅπαντες, αὐτοὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐννόμως ἢ παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων εἰσποιηθέντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, Κλαυδίου μνησθέντα, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου ἐναργῆ παρέχειν καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τεκμήρια, τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν[3] πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴστρον οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀναμιμνήσκοντα, καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁσίως ἅμα καὶ δικαίως ἐκτή- 7
σατο, καὶ τὴν ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῆς διαίτης λιτότητα, καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ὁρωμένην ἔτι; τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πάππων τῶν σῶν ἔστι μὲν τούτων νεώτερα, λαμπρὰ δὲ οὐ μεῖον

[1] ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν Cobet, ἔχοιμ' ἂν Hertlein, εὔχομαι MSS.
[2] δόξης Wyttenbach ἀξίας MSS, Hertlein.
[3] τῶν Hertlein adds.

afraid that my compliments, however germane they may seem to my subject, might, on account of their length, be thought inappropriate to the present occasion. For this reason, then, I think it better to omit a eulogy of the others, but as for Rome, your imperial Majesty summed up her praises in two words when you called her the teacher of virtue, and, by bestowing on her the fairest of all encomiums, you have forestalled all that others might say. What praise of mine would come up to that? What indeed is left for anyone to say? So I feel that I, who naturally hold that city in reverence, shall pay her a higher honour if I leave her praise in your hands.

Now perhaps I ought at this point to say a few words about your noble ancestors. Only that here too I am at a loss where to begin. For all your ancestors, grandfathers, parents, brothers, cousins and kinsfolk were emperors, who had either acquired their power by lawful means or were adopted by the reigning house. Why should I recall ancient history or hark back to Claudius and produce proofs of his merit, which are manifest and known to all? To what end recount his campaigns against the barbarians across the Danube or how righteously and justly he won the empire? How plainly he lived while on the throne! How simple was his dress, as may be seen to this day in his statues! What I might say about your grandparents[1] is comparatively recent, but

[1] Constantius Chlorus and Maximianus.

ἐκείνων. ἔτυχον μὲν γὰρ ἄμφω τῆς ἀρχῆς δι' ἀρετὴν ἀξίω κριθέντε, γενομένω δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω πρός τε ἀλλήλους εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεταδόντα τῆς βασιλείας εὐσεβῶς, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν ὡμολόγει μηδὲν τούτου πώποτε κρεῖττον βεβουλεῦσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα σωτήρια τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξευρών, οἱ δὲ τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων κοινωνίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν, εἴπερ οἷόν τε ἦν, ἑκάστῳ περιγενομένην ἠγάπων. οὕτω δὲ διακείμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔργων ἔδρων τὰ κάλλιστα, σεβόμενοι μὲν μετὰ τὴν κρείττονα φύσιν τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντα, τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δὲ πρᾴως[1] καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἐλαύνοντες μόνον πάλαι κατοικοῦντας καὶ νεμομένους καθάπερ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδεῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα, φρούρια δὲ ἐπιτειχίζοντες αὐτοῖς τοσαύτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις κατέστησαν, ὅσην οὐδὲ εὔξασθαι τότε ῥᾴδιον ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἄξιον ἐν παρέργῳ λέγειν. τῆς δὲ ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ μέγιστον σημεῖον παραλιπεῖν οὐδαμῶς εὔλογον, καὶ ἄλλως προσῆκον τῷ λόγῳ. κοινωνίαν γὰρ τὴν καλλίστην τοῖς αὑτῶν παισὶν ἐπινοήσαντες τῶν σῶν πατέρων τοὺς γάμους ἥρμοσαν. προσήκει δὲ οἶμαι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν βραχεῖ διελθεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς φανῇς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς κληρονόμος. τὴν μὲν οὖν βασιλείαν ὅπως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κατέσχε τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκείνου τῇ κρίσει καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἁπάντων τῇ ψήφῳ πατὴρ ὁ σός, τί χρὴ νῦν περι-

[1] πρᾴως Cobet, ὁσίως MSS, Hertlein.

equally remarkable. Both of them acquired the imperial sceptre as the reward of conspicuous merit, and having assumed the command, they were on such good terms with each other and displayed such filial piety to him[1] who had granted them a share in the empire, that he used to say that of all the safeguards designed by him for the realm, and they were many, this was his master-stroke. They, meanwhile, valued their mutual understanding more than undivided empire, supposing that it could have been bestowed on either of them separately. This was the temper of their souls, and nobly they played their part in action, while next to the Supreme Being they reverenced him who had placed authority in their hands. With their subjects they dealt righteously and humanely, and expelled the barbarians who had for years settled in our territory and had occupied it with impunity as though it were their own, and they built forts to hinder encroachment, which procured for those subjects such peaceful relations with the barbarians as, at that period, seemed to be beyond their dreams. This, however, is a subject that deserves more than a passing mention. Yet it would be wrong to omit the strongest proof of their unanimity, especially as it is related to my subject. Since they desired the most perfect harmony for their children, they arranged the marriage of your father and mother.[2] On this point also I think I must say a few words to show that virtue was bequeathed to you as well as a throne. But why waste time in telling how your father, on his father's death, became emperor both by the choice of the deceased monarch and by

[1] Diocletian. [2] Constantine and Fausta.

εργάζεσθαι; τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ῥώμην ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν λόγων ἄν τις γνωρίσειε. τυραννίδας γάρ, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ βασιλείας ἐννόμους 8 καθαιρῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν. τοσαύτην δὲ εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρέστησεν, ὥσθ᾽ οἱ μὲν στρατευόμενοι τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς καὶ τὰς χάριτας μεγαλοψυχίας ἔτι μεμνημένοι καθάπερ θεὸν διατελοῦσι σεβόμενοι· τὸ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πλῆθος, οὐχ οὕτω τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἀπαλλαγῆναι βαρύτητος εὐχόμενοι, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχθῆναι, τὴν κατ᾽ ἐκείνων αὐτῷ νίκην ἐπηύχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἁπάντων κύριος κατέστη, ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐχμοῦ τῆς ἀπληστίας τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος πολλῆς ἀπορίας χρημάτων οὔσης καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῶν βασιλείων ἐν μυχοῖς συνεληλαμένου, τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀφελὼν ἐπέκλυσεν ἀθρόως τῷ πλούτῳ πάντα, πόλιν τε ἐπώνυμον αὑτοῦ κατέστησεν ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα, τοσούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπασῶν μείζονα, ὅσῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖ, ἧς τὸ δευτέραν τετάχθαι μακρῷ βέλτιον ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἢ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπασῶν πρώτην νομίζεσθαι. καλὸν ἴσως ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν ἀοιδίμων Ἀθηνῶν μνησθῆναι, ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετέλει. βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὢν καὶ κύριος πάντων, στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων ἠξίου καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνος τυγχάνων μετ᾽ ἐπιγράμματος ἐγάννυτο πλέον ἢ τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἀξιωθείς. ἀμειβόμενος δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τὴν πόλιν, πυρῶν μεδίμνους δίδωσι πολλάκις μυρίους καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἔτος δωρεὰν καρποῦσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ὑπῆρχε τῇ πόλει μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις

the vote of all the armies? His military genius was made evident by his achievements and needs no words of mine. He traversed the whole civilised world suppressing tyrants, but never those who ruled by right. His subjects he inspired with such affection that his veterans still remember how generous he was with largess and other rewards, and to this day worship him as though he were a god. As for the mass of the people, in town and country alike, they prayed that your father might be victorious over the tyrants, not so much because they would be delivered from that oppression as because they would then be governed by him. But when he had made his power supreme, he found that the tyrant's[1] greed had worked like a drought, with the result that money was very scarce, while there were great hoards of treasure in the recesses of the palace; so he unlocked its doors and on the instant flooded the whole country with wealth, and then, in less than ten years, he founded and gave his name to a city[2] that as far surpasses all others as it is itself inferior to Rome; and to come second to Rome seems to me a much greater honour than to be counted first and foremost of all cities beside. Here it may be proper to mention Athens "the illustrious,"[3] seeing that during his whole life he honoured her in word and deed. He who was emperor and lord of all did not disdain the title of General of the Athenians, and when they gave him a statue with an inscription to that effect he felt more pride than if he had been awarded the highest honours. To repay Athens for this compliment he bestowed on her annually a gift of many tens of thousands of bushels

[1] Maxentius. [2] Constantinople. [3] Pindar *fr.* 46

εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ τῶν βελτίστων.

Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν ἔργων τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ πραχθέντων, ὧν τε ἐπεμνήσθην καὶ ὅσα διὰ τὸ μῆκος παραλιπεῖν δοκῶ, πάντων ἄριστον ἔγωγε φαίην ἄν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὁμολογήσειν, τὴν σὴν γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν· ἐξ ἧς ὑπάρχει τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ τὸ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς οἷόν τέ ἐστιν εἰς πλείονα χρόνον. δοκεῖ γοῦν ἄρχειν ἐκεῖνος εἰσέτι. καὶ Κύρῳ μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε τοῦτο. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ὁ παῖς ὤφθη μακρῷ φαυλότερος, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πατήρ, ὁ δὲ ἐπωνομάσθη δεσπότης. σὲ δὲ πρᾳότερον μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς κρείττονα σαφῶς τε[1] οἶδα, καὶ δηλώσω τοῦ καιροῦ φανέντος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. ἐκείνῳ δὲ προσήκειν καὶ τούτου νομίζω μεταδόντι σοι τῆς ἀρίστης τροφῆς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἤδη λέγειν πειράσομαι, μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν τῶν σῶν ἐπιμνησθείς.

Τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας τοσοῦτον περιῆν καὶ κάλλους σώματος καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς, ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλῃ γυναικὶ ῥᾳδίως ἄν τις ἐξεύροι. ἐπεὶ καὶ Περσῶν ἀκούω τὸν ὑπὲρ Παρυσάτιδος λόγον, ὅτι μόνη γέγονεν ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ καὶ γαμετὴ καὶ παῖς βασιλέως. ἀλλ' ἦν γε αὕτη τοῦ γήμαντος ἀδελφὴ τῇ φύσει, νόμος δὲ ἐδίδου γαμεῖν ἀδελφὴν τῷ Πέρσῃ. τὴν σὴν δὲ μητέρα κατὰ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν νόμους ἀχράντους καὶ καθαρὰς τὰς οἰκειότητας ταύτας

[1] τε Cobet, εὖ MSS, Hertlein.

of wheat, so that while she enjoyed plenty, he won applause and reverence from the best of men.

Your father's achievements were many and brilliant. Some I have just mentioned, and others I must omit for the sake of brevity. But the most notable of all, as I make bold to say and I think all will agree, was that he begat, reared and educated you. This secured to the rest of the world the advantages of good government, and that not for a limited time but for a period beyond his own lifetime, as far as this is possible. At any rate your father seems still to be on the throne. This is more than Cyrus himself could achieve. When he died his son proved far inferior, so that while men called Cyrus "father," his successor was called "master." [1] But you are even less stern than your father, and surpass him in many respects, as I well know and will demonstrate in my speech as occasion shall arise. Yet, in my opinion, he should have the credit of this as well, since it was he who gave you that admirable training concerning which I shall presently speak, but not till I have described your mother and brothers.[2]

Your mother's ancestry was so distinguished, her personal beauty and nobility of character were such that it would be hard to find her match among women. I have heard that saying of the Persians about Parysatis, that no other woman had been the sister, mother, wife, and daughter of kings. Parysatis, however, was own sister of her husband, since their law does not forbid a Persian to marry his sister. But your mother, while in accordance with our laws she kept pure and unsullied those ties

[1] Herodotus 3. 89. [2] Constantine II. and Constans.

φυλάττουσαν συνέβαινε[1] τοῦ μὲν εἶναι παῖδα, γαμετὴν δὲ ἑτέρου, καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἄλλου, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, οὐχὶ δὲ ἑνὸς μητέρα. ὧν ὁ μέν τις D
τῷ πατρὶ συγκατειργάσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Γέτας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσας ἀσφαλῆ παρεσκεύασεν, ὁ δὲ ἐτήρησεν ἄβατον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρατεύων ἐκείνοις πολλάκις, ἕως ἐπέτρεπον οἱ μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀδικημάτων δίκην ὑποσχόντες. πολλῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνοις περιφανῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' οἷς ἄν τις αὐτοὺς δικαίως ἐπαινεῖν ἔχοι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν περιουσίας οὔσης,[2] οὐδέν ἐστι τοιοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐφ' ᾧ μακα- 1
ρίζων ἄν[3] τις αὐτοὺς εἰκότως σεμνύνοι, ὡς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν δε ἔκγονοι[4] γεγόνασιν.[5] ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ μακρότερα περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς σοῖς καιρὸν ἀναλώσω τοῦ λόγου, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν ὡς ἡμῖν ἄξιον, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, μακρῷ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιδείξω σε[6] σεμνότερον.

Φήμας μὲν δὴ καὶ μαντείας καὶ ὄψεις τὰς B
ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα θρυλεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτω λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανῆ πραξάντων, Κύρου καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκιστοῦ πόλεως καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, ἑκὼν ἀφίημι·

[1] συνέβαινε Reiske, lacuna Hertlein.
[2] οὔσης Wyttenbach adds, περιουσίας· MSS, Hertlein.
[3] ἂν Schaefer adds.
[4] ἔκγονοι Petavius, ἔγγονοι MSS, Hertlein.
[5] γεγόνασιν Wyttenbach adds.
[6] σε Wyttenbach adds.

of kinship, was actually the daughter of one emperor,[1] the wife of another, the sister of a third, and the mother not of one emperor but of several. Of these one aided your father in his war against the tyrants ; another conquered the Getae and secured for us a lasting peace with them ; the third[2] kept our frontiers safe from the enemy's incursions, and often led his forces against them in person, so long at least as he was permitted by those who were so soon punished for their crimes against him. Though by the number and brilliance of their achievements they have indeed earned our homage, and though all the blessings of fortune were theirs in abundance, yet in the whole tale of their felicity one could pay them no greater compliment than merely to name their sires and grandsires. But I must not make my account of them too long, lest I should spend time that I ought to devote to your own panegyric. So in what follows I will, as indeed I ought, endeavour—or rather, since affectation is out of place, let me say I will demonstrate—that you are far more august than your ancestors.

Now as for heavenly voices and prophecies and visions in dreams and all such portents[3] as are common gossip when men like yourself have achieved brilliant and conspicuous success, Cyrus, for instance, and the founder[4] of our capital, and Alexander, Philip's son, and the like, I purposely ignore them. Indeed

[1] Maximianus.
[2] Constans.
[3] Isocrates, *Evagoras* 21.
[4] Romulus.

δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ταῦτα τῆς ποιητικῆς ἐξουσίας εἶναι. καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ὑπάρξαντά σοι γένεσιν ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ βασιλικὰ καὶ[1] τὸ λέγειν εὔηθες. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐν τοῖς C
παισὶν ἀγωγῆς ὁ καιρὸς ὑπομέμνηκεν, ἔδει σοι τῆς βασιλικῆς τροφῆς δήπουθεν, ἣ τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ εὐεξίαν καὶ κάλλος ἀσκήσει, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν ἐμμελῶς παρασκευάσει. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ ῥᾴδιον διὰ τῆς ἀνειμένης ὑπάρχειν διαίτης, θρυπτούσης μέν, ὡς εἰκός, τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, ἀσθενεστέρας δὲ ἐργαζομένης πρός τε τοὺς κινδύνους τὰς γνώμας D
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους τὰ σώματα. οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν ἔδει γυμναστικῆς, τῷ σώματι, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ τῇ τῶν λόγων ἐκόσμεις μελέτῃ. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἄξιον διελθεῖν· ἀρχὴ γάρ τις αὕτη τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεων γέγονε. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιμελείας τῆς περὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν οὐ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἁρμόζον ἤσκησας, ἥκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν ὑπολαβὼν τῶν τὰς παλαίστρας κατειληφότων τὴν θρυλουμένην εὐεξίαν, μέλλοντι τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγώνων μεθέξειν, ὕπνου τε ἐλαχίστου δεομένῳ καὶ τροφῆς οὐ πολλῆς, καὶ ταύτης οὔτε κατὰ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ ποιότητα πάντως ὡρισμένης οὔτε κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ὃν χρὴ προσφέρεσθαι, τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης δέ, ἐπειδὰν αἱ πράξεις τὸν καιρὸν ἐνδῶσιν. ὅθεν ᾤου δεῖν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια πρὸς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι,[2] πολλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικά, χορείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, δρόμον τὸν ἐν τούτοις, τὴν ἱππικὴν τέχνην, οἷς ἅπασι διατετέλεκας ἐξ

[1] καὶ Wyttenbach adds.
[2] ποιεῖσθαι Wyttenbach, ποιεῖσθαι εἶναι δὲ MSS, Hertlein.

I feel that poetic license accounts for them all. And it is foolish even to state that at the hour of your birth all the circumstances were brilliant and suited to a prince. And now the time has come for me to speak of your education as a boy. You were of course bound to have the princely nurture that should train your body to be strong, muscular, healthy, and handsome, and at the same time duly equip your soul with courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom. But this cannot result from that loose indulgence which naturally pampers body and soul, weakening men's wills for facing danger and their bodies for work. Therefore your body required training by suitable gymnastics, while you adorned your mind by literary studies. But I must speak at greater length about both branches of your education, since it laid the foundation of your later career. In your physical training you did not pursue those exercises that fit one merely for public display. What professional athletes love to call the pink of condition you thought unsuitable for a king who must enter for contests that are not make-believe. Such a one must put up with very little sleep and scanty food, and that of no precise quantity or quality or served at regular hours, but such as can be had when the stress of work allows. And so you thought you ought to train yourself in athletics with a view to this, and that your exercises must be military and of many kinds, dancing and running in heavy armour, and riding. All these you have

ἀρχῆς ἐν καιρῷ χρώμενος· καὶ κατώρθωται παρὰ σοὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ὡς παρ᾽ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπλιτῶν. οὐκοῦν ὁ μέν τις ἐκείνων, πεζὸς ὢν ἀγαθός, τὴν ἱππικὴν τέχνην ἠγνόησεν, ὁ δέ, ἐπιστάμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱππικοῖς, ὀκνεῖ πεζὸς εἰς μάχην ἰέναι. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπάρχει σοὶ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἀρίστῳ φαίνεσθαι παραπλησίως ἐκείνοις σταλέντι, μετασκευασαμένῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὁπλίτας C
κρατεῖν ἁπάντων ῥώμῃ καὶ τάχει καὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν κουφότητι. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τὰς ἀνέσεις ῥᾳθύμους εἶναι μηδ᾽ ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ποιεῖσθαι συμβαίνῃ, ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύειν ἤσκησας. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἑκουσίων πόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἀκουσίους εὖ ἔχειν παρεσκεύασας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ἡγεῖτο μὲν ἡ τῶν λόγων μελέτη καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα τοῖς τηλικούτοις μαθήματα. ὅπως δὲ μὴ D
παντάπασιν ἀγύμναστος ᾖ μηδὲ καθάπερ ᾄσματα καὶ μύθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπακούῃ λόγους, ἔργων δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ πράξεων ἄπειρος οὖσα τὸν τοσοῦτον διαμείνῃ χρόνον, καθάπερ ὁ γενναῖος ἠξίωσε Πλάτων οἱονεὶ πτερὰ τοῖς παισὶ χαριζόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζοντα[1] ἄγειν εἰς τὰς μάχας, θεατὰς ἐσομένους ὧν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀγωνιστὰς ἐχρῆν καταστῆναι, πατέρα τὸν σὸν διανοηθέντα φαίην ἂν εἰκότως τοῖς Κελτῶν ἔθνεσιν 1
ἐπιστῆσαί σε φύλακα καὶ βασιλέα, μειράκιον ἔτι, μᾶλλον δὲ παῖδα κομιδῇ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε συνέσει καὶ ῥώμῃ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν

[1] ἀναβιβάζοντα Cobet, ἀνάγοντα MSS, Hertlein.

continued from early youth to practise at the right time, and in every exercise you have attained to greater perfection than any other hoplite. Usually a hoplite who is a good infantryman cannot ride, or, if he is an expert horseman, he shirks marching on foot to battle. But of you alone it can be said that you can put on the cavalry uniform and be a match for the best of them, and when changed into a hoplite show yourself stronger, swifter, and lighter on your feet than all the rest. Then you practised shooting at a mark, that even your hours of leisure might not be hours of ease or be found without the exercise of arms. So by work that was voluntary you trained your body to stand the exertions that you would be compelled to undertake.

Your mind, meanwhile, was trained by practice in public speaking and other studies suitable to your years. But it was not to be wholly without the discipline of experience, nor was it for you to listen merely to lectures on the virtues as though they were ballads or saga stories, and so wait all that time without actual acquaintance with brave works and undertakings. Plato, that noble philosopher, advised [1] that boys should be furnished as it were with wings for flight by being mounted on horseback, and should then be taken into battle so that they may be spectators of the warfare in which they must soon be combatants. This, I make bold to say, was in your father's mind when he made you governor and king of the Celtic tribes while you were still a youth, or rather a mere boy in point of years, though in intelligence and endurance you could already hold your own with men of parts.

[1] *Republic* 467 E.

ἐνάμιλλον ἤδη. τοῦ μὲν ἀκίνδυνον γενέσθαι σοι τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ὁ πατὴρ προυνόησε καλῶς, εἰρήνην ἐπιτάξας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἄγειν τοῖς βαρβάροις· μάχεσθαι δὲ ἀναπείθων καὶ στα- B
σιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι στρατηγικὴν ἐδίδασκε τέχνην, ἀσφαλέστερον βουλευόμενος τοῦ σοφοῦ Πλάτωνος. τῷ μὲν γάρ, εἰ πεζὸς ἐπέλθοι πολεμίων στρατός, οἱ παῖδες θεαταὶ καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἤν που δεηθῶσι, τοῖς πατράσι γένοιντ' ἄν· κρατούντων δὲ ἱππεῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, ὥρα μηχανᾶσθαι τοῖς μειρακίοις σωτηρίας τρόπον δυσεπινόητον. τὸ δὲ C
ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κινδύνοις τοὺς παῖδας ἐθίζειν πολεμίων ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀρκούντως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν δοκεῖ βεβουλεῦσθαι.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτοις σοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὑπῆρχε μελέτη. φρονήσεως δὲ ἡ μὲν φύσις, ἣν εἴληχας, αὐταρκὴς ἡγεμών· παρῆσαν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τὰ πολιτικὰ διδάσκοντες. καὶ παρεῖχον ἠθῶν καὶ νόμων καὶ ξένων ἐπιτηδευμάτων D
ἐμπειρίαν αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τῇδε βαρβάρων ἐντεύξεις. καίτοι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα συνετὸν Ὅμηρος ἐκ παντὸς ἀποφῆναι προαιρούμενος πολύτροπον εἶναί φησι καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοῦν καταγνῶναι καὶ ἐπελθεῖν τὰς πόλεις,[1] ἵν' ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐπιλεξάμενος ἔχοι τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πρὸς παντοδαποὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλεῖν δύναιτο. ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ὃς[2] οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε

[1] τὰς πόλεις Cobet, ταῖς πόλεσιν MSS, Hertlein.
[2] τῷ μὲν ὃς Wright, τὸν μὲν MSS, Hertlein, τὸ μὲν V.

Your father wisely provided that your experience of war should be free from risks, having arranged that the barbarians should maintain peace with his subjects. But he instigated them to internal feuds and civil war, and so taught you strategy at the expense of their lives and fortunes. This was a safer policy than the wise Plato's. For, by his scheme, if the invading army were composed of infantry, the boys could indeed be spectators of their fathers' prowess, or, if need arose, could even take part. But supposing that the enemy won in a cavalry engagement, then, on the instant, one would have to devise some means to save the boys, which would be difficult indeed. But to inure the boys to face the enemy, while the hazard belongs to others, is to take counsel that both suffices for their need and also secures their safety.

It was in this way then that you were first trained in manliness. But as regards wisdom, that nature with which you were endowed was your self-sufficing guide. But also, I think, the wisest citizens were at your disposal and gave you lessons in statecraft. Moreover, your intercourse with the barbarian leaders in that region gave you an acquaintance at first hand with the manners, laws, and usages of foreigners. Indeed, when Homer set out to prove the consummate wisdom of Odysseus, he called him "much-travelled," and said that he had come to know the minds of many peoples and visited their cities, so that he might choose what was best in every one and be able to mix with all sorts and conditions of men. Yes, even Odysseus, who never ruled an

ποικίλων ἠθῶν ἐμπειρίας χρεία· τὸν δὲ πρὸς 11 τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τρεφόμενον οὐκ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ που χρῆν διδάσκεσθαι οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν, καθάπερ ὁ Κῦρος, παίζοντα μιμεῖσθαι οὐδὲ χρηματίζειν τοῖς ἥλιξι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνον λέγουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔθνεσιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ δήμοις, καὶ στρατιωτῶν τάγμασιν ἐπιτάττειν ἁπλῶς τὸ πρακτέον· ὅλως δὲ οὐδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθαι τούτων, ὧν ἐχρῆν ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας πράττειν.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἐδιδάχθης B καλῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἤπειρον μετιὼν τοῖς Παρθυαίων καὶ Μήδων ἔθνεσιν ἀντετάχθης μόνος. ὑποτυφομένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μέλλοντος ἀναρριπίζεσθαι, ταχέως καὶ τούτου κατέγνως τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχὺν ἐμιμήσω, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὥραν τοῦ θέρους εἴθισας καρτερεῖν τὸ σῶμα. πυνθάνομαι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην μόνον ἐξ ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων οὕτως εὐφυῶς μεταβολὰς ἐνεγκεῖν, ὡς C καὶ μιμήσασθαι πρῶτον[1] μὲν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγκράτειαν, ἐπειδὴ Σπαρτιάταις αὑτὸν ἐδεδώκει, εἶτα Θηβαίους, καὶ Θρᾷκας ὕστερον, καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει τὴν τῶν Περσῶν τρυφήν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοῖς χωρίοις συμμεταβάλλων καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀνεπίμπλατο πολλῆς δυσχερείας καὶ τὸ πάτριον ἐκινδύνευε παντελῶς ἀποβαλεῖν, σὺ δὲ τῆς μὲν

[1] πρῶτον Cobet adds.

empire, needed experience of the many and divers minds of men. How much more necessary that one who was being brought up to guide an empire like this should not fit himself for the task in some modest dwelling apart; neither should he, like young Cyrus in his games, play at being emperor, nor give audiences to his playmates, as they say[1] Cyrus did. Rather he ought to mix with nations and peoples, and give orders to his troops definitely indicating what is to be done, and generally he should be found wanting in none of those things which, when he comes to manhood, he must perform without fear.

Accordingly, when you had gained a thorough knowledge of the Celts, you crossed to the other continent and were given sole command against the Parthians and Medes. There were already signs that a war was smouldering and would soon burst into flame. You therefore quickly learned how to deal with it, and, as though you took as model the hardness of your weapons, steeled yourself to bear the heat of the summer season. I have heard say that Alcibiades alone, among all the Greeks, was naturally so versatile that when he cast in his lot with the Spartans he copied the self-restraint of the Lacedaemonians, then in turn Theban and Thracian manners, and finally adopted Persian luxury. But Alcibiades, when he changed his country changed his character[2] too, and became so tainted with perversity and so ill-conditioned that he was likely to lose utterly all that he was born to. You, however, thought it your duty to maintain your severity of

[1] Herodotus 1. 114.
[2] Cf. Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* 78. Horace *Epistles* 1. 11. 27.

ἐγκρατοῦς διαίτης ᾤου δεῖν ἔχεσθαι πανταχοῦ,
ἐθίζων δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς D
ῥᾷον ἤνεγκας[1] τὴν ἐκ Γαλατῶν εἰς Παρθυαίους
ἄνοδον ἢ[2] τῶν πλουσίων οἱ ταῖς ὥραις τὴν οἴκησιν
συμμεταβάλλοντες, εἰ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν βιασθεῖεν.
καί μοι δοκεῖ θεὸς εὐμενὴς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων
ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν παρασκευάζειν
ἐθέλων, κύκλῳ σε περιαγαγεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης ὅρους καὶ πέρατα καὶ φύσιν χωρίων
καὶ μέγεθος χώρας καὶ δύναμιν ἐθνῶν καὶ πλῆθος 1
πόλεων καὶ φύσιν δήμων καὶ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῶν
ἐκείνων τὴν περιουσίαν[3] ὧν οὐδενὸς ἀπολελεῖφθαι
χρὴ τὸν πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν τρεφόμενον. τὸ
μέγιστον δὲ μικροῦ με διέφυγεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τούτων
ἁπάντων ἄρχειν ἐκ παίδων διδασκόμενος, ἄρχεσθαι
κρεῖττον ἔμαθες, ἀρχῇ τῇ πασῶν ἀρίστῃ καὶ
δικαιοτάτῃ, φύσει τε καὶ νόμῳ, σαυτὸν ὑποτιθείς·
πατρὶ γὰρ ὑπήκουες ἅμα καὶ βασιλεῖ· ὧν εἰ καὶ
θάτερον ὑπῆρχεν ἐκείνῳ μόνον, ἄρχειν αὐτῷ
πάντως προσῆκον ἦν. καίτοι τίνα ποτ' ἄν τις B
ἐξεύροι βασιλικὴν τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν ἀμείνω
ταύτης πάλαι γενομένην; οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵπερ δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς
τῆς τῶν βασιλέων μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτω τοὺς Ἡρα-
κλείδας ἐπαίδευον, οὔτε τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ Καρχη-

[1] ἤνεγκας Cobet, διήνεγκας MSS, Hertlein.
[2] ἢ Reiske adds.
[3] περιουσίαν Petavius, γερουσίαν MSS, Hertlein.

life wherever you might be, and by hard work inuring your constitution to change, you easily bore the march inland from Galatia to Parthia, more easily in fact than a rich man who lives now here, now there, according to the season, would bear it if he were forced to encounter unseasonable weather. I think Heaven smiled on you and willed that you should govern the whole world, and so from the first trained you in virtue, and was your guide when you journeyed to all points, and showed you the bounds and limits of the whole empire, the character of each region, the vastness of your territory, the power of every race, the number of the cities, the characteristics of the masses, and above all the vast number of things that one who is bred to so great a kingship cannot afford to neglect. But I nearly forgot to mention the most important thing of all. From a boy you were taught to govern this great empire, but a better thing you learned, to be governed, submitting yourself to the authority that is the best in the world and the most just, that is to say nature and law. I mean that both as son and subject you obeyed your father. Indeed, had he been only your father or only your king, obedience was his due.

Now what rearing and education for a king could one find in history better than this? Consider the Greeks. Not thus did the Spartans train the Heracleidae, though they are thought to have enjoyed the best form of government, that of their kings. As for the barbarians, not even the Cartha-

δόνιοι, βασιλευόμενοι διαφερόντως, τῆς ἀρίστης ἐπιμελείας τὸν ἄρξοντα[1] σφῶν ἠξίουν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἦν κοινὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ παιδεύματα, καθάπερ ἀδελφοῖς C
τοῖς πολίταις ἄρξειν τε καὶ ἀρχθήσεσθαι μέλλουσι, καὶ οὐδὲν διάφορον προσῆν εἰς παιδείας λόγον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἄλλων. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ εὔηθες ἀπαιτεῖν μὲν ἀρετῆς μέγεθος ἀνυπέρβλητον παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, προνοεῖν δὲ μηδέν, ὅπως ἔσονται τῶν πολλῶν διαφέροντες; καὶ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις, ἅπασιν ἐν κοινῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης προκειμένης, τὸ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἠθῶν ὁμοίαν γίγνεσθαι παράσχοι συγγνώμην· τὸν Λυκοῦργον δὲ τοῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασι- D
λείαν διαφυλάττοντα[2] μηδεμίαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τῶν νέων εὑρόντα σφόδρα ἄν τις εἰκότως μέμψαιτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς καὶ τροφίμους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, τῆς ἴσης ἀξιοῦν ἐχρῆν τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας τοὺς ἰδιώτας τοῖς ἄρξουσιν.[3] ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη κατὰ 1
μικρὸν παραδυομένη[4] συνήθεια ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνέτεκεν[5] ὑπεροψίαν τῶν κρειττόνων· ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲ κρείττονας νομιστέον τοὺς οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν πρωτεύειν

[1] ἄρξοντα Hertlein suggests, ἄρχοντα MSS.
[2] διαφυλάττοντα [καὶ] Hertlein.
[3] ἄρξουσιν Cobet, ἄρχουσιν MSS, Hertlein.
[4] παραδυομένη Wright, cf. *Rep.* 424 D, ὑποδυομένη MSS, Hertlein.
[5] ἐνέτεκεν Wyttenbach, ἐντεκεῖν MSS, Hertlein, πέφυκεν ἐντεκεῖν Petavius.

ginians, though they were particularly well-governed by their kings, chose the best method of training their future rulers. The moral discipline and the studies prescribed by their laws were pursued by all alike, as though the citizens were brothers, all destined both to govern and be governed, and in the matter of education they made no difference between their princes and the rest of the citizens. Yet surely it is foolish to demand superlative excellence from one's rulers when one takes no pains to make them better than other men. Among the barbarians, indeed, no man is debarred from winning the throne, so one can excuse them for giving the same moral training to all. But that Lycurgus, who tried to make the dynasty of the Heracleidae proof against all shocks,[1] should not have arranged for them a special education better than that of other Spartan youths is an omission for which he may well be criticised. He may have thought that all the Lacedaemonians ought to enter the race for virtue, and foster it, but for all that it was wrong to provide the same nurture and education for private citizens as for those who were to govern. The inevitable familiarity little by little steals into men's souls and breeds contempt for their betters. Though, for that matter, they are not in any sense one's betters unless it was their own merit that earned them the right to rule. This, in

[1] cf. Xenophon *Rep. Lac.* 15. 7.

λαχόντας. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας χαλεπωτέρους ἀρχθῆναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρεῖχε πολλάκις. χρήσαιτο δ' ἄν τις σαφεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῶν ῥηθέντων τῇ Λυσάνδρου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν, ἐπιὼν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

Ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τὰ[1] πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζουσα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν διαφέρον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐδίδου τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ὑπάρχειν παρεῖχεν ἀνδράσι· Καρχηδονίων δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπαινεῖν ἄξιον. ἐξελαύνοντες γὰρ τῶν οἰκιῶν οἱ γονεῖς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέταττον εὐπορεῖν διὰ τῶν πόνων τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀναγκαίων, τὸ δρᾶν τι τῶν δοκούντων αἰσχρῶν ἀπαγορεύοντες. τὸ δὲ ἦν, οὐ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελεῖν τῶν νέων, ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν[2] πειρᾶσθαι τι δρῶντα[3] προστάττειν. πέφυκε γὰρ οὐ τρυφὴ μόνον ἦθος διαφθείρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὴς δίαιτα, ἐφ' ὧν οὔπω τὸ κρίνειν ὁ λόγος προσλαβὼν ἕπεται ταῖς χρείαις ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναπειθόμενος, ἄλλως τε εἰ καὶ τούτου μὴ κρατοίη τοῦ πάθους, πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἐκ παίδων συνεθιζόμενος καί τινας ἀμοιβὰς ἐμποριῶν καὶ καπηλείας τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς εὑρὼν τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων μαθών, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ λέγειν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούειν

[1] τὰ Wyttenbach adds.
[2] λαθεῖν Cobet, τὸ λαθεῖν MSS, Hertlein, τοῦ λαθεῖν Schaefer. [3] τι δρῶντα Spanheim, ἱδρῶτα MSS, Hertlein.

my opinion, is the reason why the Spartan kings often found their subjects hard to govern. In proof of what I say one might quote the rivalry of Lysander and Agesilaus, and many other instances, if one should review the history of the Spartan kings.

The Spartan polity, however, by securing a satisfactory development of the moral qualities in their kings, even if it gave them a training in no way different from that of the crowd, at least endowed them with the attributes of well-bred men. But as for the Carthaginians, there was nothing to admire even in the discipline that they all shared. The parents turned their sons out of doors and bade them win the necessaries of life by their own efforts, with the injunction to do nothing that is considered disgraceful. The effect of this was not to uproot the evil inclinations of the young, but to require them to take pains not to be caught in wrong-doing. For it is not self-indulgence only that ruins character, but the lack of mere necessaries may produce the same result. This is true at any rate in the case of those whose reason has not yet assumed the power to decide, being swayed by physical needs and persuaded by desire. It is especially true when one fails to control the passion for money-getting, if from boyhood one is accustomed to it and to the trading and bartering of the market-places. This business, unfit for a youth of gentle birth to mention, or so much as hear spoken of, whether the youth finds it out for himself

ἄξιον ἐλευθέρῳ παιδί, πλείστας ἂν κηλῖδας ἐναπόθοιτο τῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν πασῶν καθαρὸν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ πολίτην, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ στρατηγὸν μόνον.

ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐκείνοις
προσήκει· δείξω δὲ μόνον τῆς τροφῆς[1] τὸ 1
διαφέρον, ᾗ χρησάμενος κάλλει καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διήνεγκας, διὰ μὲν τῶν πόνων τὴν εὐεξίαν περιβαλόμενος, διὰ δὲ τῶν νόμων τὴν σωφροσύνην κατακτησάμενος,[2] καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι ῥωμαλεωτέρῳ διὰ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τῇ ψυχῇ δ᾽ αὖ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καρτερίαν δικαιοτέρᾳ χρώμενος, τὰ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως ἀγαθὰ συναύξων ἐκ παντός, τὰ δὲ ταῖς
ἐπιμελείαις ἔξωθεν ἀεὶ προσλαμβάνων· καὶ δεό- 1
μενος[3] μὲν οὐδενός, ἐπαρκῶν δ᾽ ἄλλοις καὶ χαριζόμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ ὅσαι τοὺς λαβόντας ἤρκουν ἀποφῆναι τῷ Λυδῶν δυνάστῃ παραπλησίους, ἐνδεέστερον μὲν ἀπολαύων αὐτὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἢ Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ σωφρονέστατος, τοῦ τρυφᾶν δὲ παρέχων ἄλλοις χορηγίαν, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις σωφρονεῖν παρέχων σαυτὸν μιμεῖσθαι, ἄρχων μὲν πρᾴως καὶ φιλανθρώπως
τῶν ἄλλων, ἀρχόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σω- C
φρόνως καὶ ὡς εἷς τῶν πολλῶν τὸν ἅπαντα διετέλεις χρόνον. παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι σοι καὶ μειρακίῳ ταῦτά τε ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα, περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγειν μακρότερον ἂν εἴη τοῦ καιροῦ.

[1] τροφῆς MSS, Cobet, διατροφῆς V, Hertlein.
[2] κατακτησάμενος Cobet; κτησάμενος MSS, Hertlein, καταχρησάμενος V.
[3] δεόμενος MSS, Cobet, ἐνδεόμενος Hertlein.

or learns it from those of greater experience, leaves many scars on the soul; and even a respectable citizen ought to be free from all this, not a king or general alone.

But it is not for me to criticise the Carthaginians in this place. I will only point out how different was your education, and how you profited by it and have come to excel in looks, strength, justice, and temperance. By your active life you achieved perfect health; your temperance was the result of obedience to the laws; you enjoy a body of unusual strength by reason of your self-control, and a soul of unusual rectitude because of your physical powers of endurance. You left nothing undone to improve your natural talents, but ever acquired new talents by new studies. You needed nothing yourself but gave assistance to others, and lavished such generous gifts that the recipients seemed as rich as the monarch of the Lydians.[1] Though you indulged yourself less in the good things that were yours than the most austere of the Spartans, you gave others the means of luxury in abundance, while those who preferred temperance could imitate your example. As a ruler you were mild and humane; as your father's subject you were ever as modest as any one of his people. All this was true of you in boyhood and youth, and much more about which there is now no time to speak at length.

[1] Gyges.

Γενόμενος δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡλικίας, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ δαίμονος μάλα ὀλβίαν παρασχόντος, οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τὸν τάφον ἐκόσμεις, γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς ἀποτίνων τὰ χαριστήρια, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τῷ μόνος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ζῶντος μὲν ἔτι καὶ πιεζομένου τῇ νόσῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὰς μεγίστας τιμὰς καταστῆσαι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι. καλοῦσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐφ᾽ αὐτὰς αἱ πράξεις ὑπομιμνήσκουσαι τῆς ῥώμης, τῆς εὐψυχίας, εὐβουλίας τε ἅμα καὶ δικαιότητος, οἷς ἄμαχος ὤφθης καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς πατρῴους σοι φίλους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καταστησάμενος· πλὴν εἴ που βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἄκων ἑτέρους ἐξαμαρτεῖν οὐ διεκώλυσας· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνδρείως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῆς προϋπαρχούσης ἀξίως τοῦ γένους δόξης καταστησάμενος. τοῖς μὲν δι᾽ ὁμονοίας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον συγγέγονας, ἀστασίαστον μὲν τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάττων καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς συνάρχοντας θεραπεύων ἀεί, τοῖς φίλοις δὲ τῆς ἰσηγορίας[1] μεταδιδοὺς καὶ τῆς παρρησίας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθόνως, κοινωνῶν μὲν ἅπασι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μεταδιδοὺς δὲ ὧν ἕκαστος ἐνδεὴς δόξειε. καὶ τούτων μάρτυσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις εἰκότως ἄν τις χρήσαιτο, καὶ τὰ πράγματα δὲ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι

[1] ἰσηγορίας Petavius, ἴσης παρηγορίας MSS, Hertlein.

When you had come to man's estate, and after fate had decreed the ending of your father's life [1] and Heaven had granted that his last hours should be peculiarly blest, you adorned his tomb not only by lavishing on it splendid decorations [2] and so paying the debt of gratitude for your birth and education, but still more by the fact that you alone of his sons hastened to him when he was still alive and stricken by illness, and paid him the highest possible honours after his death. But all this I need only mention in passing. For now it is your exploits that cry aloud for notice and remind me of your energy, courage, good judgment, and justice. In these qualities you are unsurpassed, unrivalled. In your dealings with your brothers,[3] your subjects, your father's friends, and your armies you displayed justice and moderation; except that, in some cases, forced as you were by the critical state of affairs, you could not, in spite of your own wishes, prevent others from going astray. Towards the enemy your demeanour was brave, generous, and worthy of the previous reputation of your house. While you maintained the friendly relations that already existed, kept the capital free from civil discord, and continued to cherish your brothers who were your partners in empire, you granted to your friends, among other benefits, the privilege of addressing you as an equal and full freedom of speech without stint, and perfect frankness. Not only did you share with them all whatever you possessed, but you gave to each what he seemed most to need. Anyone who wants testimony to all this might reasonably call your friends to witness, but if he does not know your friends, the facts

[1] At Nicomedia 337 A.D. [2] Isocrates, *Evagoras* 1.
[3] Constans and Constantine.

γῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συνουσίας ἱκανὰ δηλῶσαι τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου παντός.

Ῥητέον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν πράξεων ἀνα- C
βαλλομένοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἕξεων λόγον. Πέρσαι τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης πάλαι κρατήσαντες καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ πολλὰ καταστρεψάμενοι, μικροῦ δέω φάναι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην περιβαλόμενοι κύκλῳ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφῄρηντο, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγίας ἔργον γενόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ παίγνιον, χαλεπῶς φέροντες[1] τὸ δουλεύειν, ὡς ἐκεῖνον ᾔσθοντο τετελευτηκότα, τῶν διαδόχων ἀποστάντες
Μακεδόσι τε εἰς τὴν ἀντίπαλον δύναμιν αὖθις D
κατέστησαν καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς κατακτησαμένοις ἀξιόμαχοι διὰ τέλους ἔδοξαν εἶναι πολέμιοι. καὶ τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν τί χρὴ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκειν, Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κράσσου, στρατηγῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνα διὰ μακρῶν ἀπωσάμεθα κινδύνων τὰ αἴσχη, πολλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀναμαχεσαμένων τὰ πταίσματα; τί δὲ χρὴ τῶν δευτέρων ἀτυχημάτων μεμνῆσθαι
καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Κάρου πράξεων, ὅσπερ 1
μετὰ τὰς συμφορὰς ᾑρέθη στρατηγός;[2] ἀλλ' οἱ τὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀγαπωμένην εἰρήνην ἐπιτάξαντες ἐκείνοις ἄγειν, οἱ πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντες, οὐχ ὁ μὲν καῖσαρ καθ' αὑτὸν συμβαλὼν αἰσχρῶς ἀπήλλαξεν; ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης ἄρχοντος καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς ἡγεμονίας

[1] φέροντες πρὸς MSS.
[2] ὅσπερ . . . . στρατηγός MSS.

themselves are sufficient to demonstrate the policy of your whole life.

But I must postpone the description of your personal qualities and go on to speak of your achievements. The Persians in the past conquered the whole of Asia, subjugated a great part of Europe, and had embraced in their hopes I may almost say the whole inhabited world, when the Macedonians deprived them of their supremacy, and they provided Alexander's generalship with a task, or rather with a toy. But they could not endure the yoke of slavery, and no sooner was Alexander dead, than they revolted from his successors and once more opposed their power to the Macedonians, and so successfully that, when we took over what was left of the Macedonian empire, we counted them to the end as foes with whom we must reckon. I need not now remind you of ancient history, of Antony and Crassus,[1] who were generals with the fullest powers, or tell how after long-continued dangers we succeeded in wiping out the disgrace they incurred, and how many a prudent general retrieved their blunders. Nor need I recall the second chapter of our misfortunes and the exploits of Carus[2] that followed, when after those failures he was appointed general. Among those who sat on the throne before your father's time and imposed on the Persians conditions of peace admired and welcomed by all, did not the Caesar[3] incur a disgraceful defeat when he attacked them on his own account? It was not till the ruler of the whole world[4] turned his attention to

[1] Defeated at Carrhae B.C. 53: the Roman standards were recovered by Augustus B.C. 20. [2] Emperor 282–283 A.D.

[3] Galerius Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian, was defeated in Mesopotamia, 296 A.D., by Narses. [4] Diocletian.

ἁπάσης ἐκεῖσε τρέψαντος καὶ προκαταλαβόντος τὰς εἰσβολὰς στρατεύμασι καὶ καταλόγοις ὁπλιτῶν παλαιῶν καὶ νεολέκτων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς παρασκευαῖς, δεδιότες μόλις τὴν εἰρήνην ἠγάπησαν. ἣν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως περιόντος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ συγχέαντες καὶ συνταράξαντες, τῆς μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίας διήμαρτον, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευαῖς τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος· σοὶ δὲ ὑπέσχον τὴν δίκην ὕστερον τῶν τετολμημένων. μέλλων δὲ ἔτι δὴ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγώνων γενομένων σοι πολλάκις ἅπτεσθαι τοσοῦτον ἀξιῶ σκοπεῖν τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ὅτι τοῦ C
τρίτου μορίου τῆς ἀρχῆς καθεστὼς κύριος οὐδαμῶς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐρρῶσθαι δοκοῦντος, οὐχ ὅπλοις, οὐκ ἀνδράσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα πρὸς τηλικοῦτον πόλεμον ἐχρῆν ἐπιρρεῖν ἄφθονα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σοι δι' ἀσδηποτοῦν αἰτίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐλαφρυνόντων· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀναίσχυντος οὐδὲ βάσκανος συκοφάντης, ὃς οὐκ αἰτιώτατον γενέσθαι σὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμονοίας φήσει· ὄντος δὲ οἶμαι τοῦ πολέμου καθ' αὑτὸν δυσχεροῦς, τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν διεταράττετο, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν σφῶν ἡγεμόνα ποθεῖν ἐκβοῶντες, ὑμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν ἐθέλοντες· καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἄτοπα καὶ δυσχερῆ πανταχόθεν ἀναφυόμενα χαλεπωτέρας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου παρεῖχεν ἐλπίδας· Ἀρμένιοι παλαιοὶ σύμμαχοι στασιάζοντες καὶ μοῖρα σφῶν οὐ φαύλη Πέρσαις προσθέμενοι, τὴν ὅμορον σφίσι λῃσταῖς κατατρέχοντες· καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐφαί-

them, directing thither all the forces of the empire, occupying all the passes with his troops and levies of hoplites, both veterans and new recruits, and employing every sort of military equipments, that fear drove them to accept terms of peace. That peace they somehow contrived to disturb and break during your father's lifetime, but they escaped punishment at his hands because he died in the midst of preparations for a campaign. It was left for you later on to punish them for their audacity. I shall often have to speak of your campaigns against them, but this one thing I ask my hearers to observe. You became master of a third of the empire,[1] that part in fact which seemed by no means strong enough to carry on a war, since it had neither arms nor troops in the field, nor any of those military resources which ought to flow in abundantly in preparation for so important a war. Then, too, your brothers, for whatever reason, did nothing to make the war easier for you. And yet there is no sycophant so shameless and so envious as not to admit that the harmony existing between you was mainly due to you. The war in itself presented peculiar difficulties, in my opinion, and the troops were disaffected owing to the change of government; they raised the cry that they missed their old leader and they wished to control your actions. Nay, more; a thousand strange and perplexing circumstances arose on every hand to render your hopes regarding the war more difficult to realise. The Armenians, our ancient allies, revolted, and no small part of them went over to the Persians and overran and raided the country on their borders.

In this crisis there seemed to be but one hope of

[1] The provinces of the East.

νετο μόνον σωτήριον, τὸ σὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχεσθαι καὶ βουλεύεσθαι, τέως οὐχ ὑπῆρχε διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν Παιονίᾳ συνθήκας, ἃς αὐτὸς παρὼν οὕτω διῴκησας, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἐκείνοις παρασχεῖν μέμψεως. μικροῦ με ἔλαθεν ἡ[1] τῶν πράξεων ἀρχὴ διαφυγοῦσα καλλίων ἁπασῶν ἢ ταῖς καλλίσταις ἐξ ἴσης θαυμαστή. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοσούτων πραγμάτων βουλευόμενον μηδὲν ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τὸ πλέον ἔχειν ἑκὼν συγχωροίης, σωφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας μέγιστον ἂν εἴη σημεῖον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μέν τις τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς νεμόμενος ἑκατὸν ταλάντων, κείσθω δέ, εἰ βούλει, τοσούτων ἄλλων, εἶτα ἔχων πεντήκοντα[2] μναῖς ἔλαττον ἠγάπησε δή, καὶ μικροῦ παντελῶς ἀργυρίου τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμόνοιαν ἀνταλλαξάμενος, ἐπαίνων ἂν ἐδόκει καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιος ὡς χρημάτων κρείττων, ὡς εὔβουλος φύσει, ξυνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὡς καλὸς κἀγαθός. ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς οὕτω μεγαλοψύχως καὶ σωφρόνως δοκῶν βεβουλεῦσθαι, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῷ μείζονα μὴ προσθεῖναι πόνον, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσόδων ἑκὼν ὑφίεσθαι ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ῥωμαίων ἁπάντων εἰρήνης, πόσων ἐπαίνων ἄξιον κρινεῖ τις; οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἔνεστιν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς καλῶς μέν, ἀλυσιτελῶς δέ· λυσιτελὲς[3] μὲν γὰρ

[1] ἡ Schaefer adds.
[2] πεντήκοντα μναῖς Reiske, Cobet, μνᾶς MSS.
[3] ἀλυσιτελῶς δέ· λυσιτελὲς Petavius, Wyttenbach, Hertlein, ἀλυσιτελὲς MSS.

safety, that you should take charge of affairs and plan the campaign, but at the moment this was impossible, because you were in Paeonia[1] making treaties with your brothers. Thither you went in person, and so managed that you gave them no opening for criticism. Indeed, I almost forgot to mention the very first of your achievements, the noblest of all, or at any rate equal to the noblest. For there is no greater proof of your prudence and magnanimity than the fact that, in planning for interests of such importance, you thought it no disadvantage if you should, of your own free will, concede the lion's share to your brothers. Imagine, for instance, a man dividing among his brothers their father's estate of a hundred talents, or, if you prefer, twice as much. Then suppose him to have been content with fifty minae less than the others, and to raise no objection, because he secured their goodwill in exchange for that trifling sum. You would think he deserved all praise and respect as one who had a soul above money, as far-sighted, in short as a man of honour. But here is one whose policy with regard to the empire of the world seems to have been so high minded, so prudent, that, without increasing the burdens of administration, he willingly gave up some of the imperial revenues in order to secure harmony and peace among all Roman citizens. What praise such a one deserves! And certainly one cannot, in this connection, quote the saying, "Well done, but a bad bargain." Nothing, in my opinion,

[1] Regularly in Greek for Pannonia.

οὐδέν, ὅ, τι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ καλόν, ἔμοιγε φαίνεται. ὅλως δὲ εἴ τινι καθ᾽ αὑτὸ τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν δοκεῖ, κρινέτω μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον σκοπῶν μηδὲ προσόδους χωρίων ἀπαριθμούμενος, καθάπερ οἱ φιλάργυροι γέροντες ὑπὸ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἑλκόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν. φιλονεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁρίων καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχων ἐκείνων ἂν ἦρξε μόνων ὧν ἔλαχεν, εἰ καὶ πλέον ἔχων ἀπῄει· ὑπερορῶν δὲ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ καταφρονήσας ἦρχε μὲν ἁπάσης μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ τοῦ λαχόντος μέρους, ἀπολαύων μὲν τελείας τῆς τιμῆς, μετέχων δὲ ἔλαττον τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ πόνων.

Ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὖθις ἐξέσται διὰ μακροτέρων δηλῶσαι. ὅπως δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμελήθης, τοσούτων κύκλῳ περιστάντων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν κινδύνων καὶ παντοδαπῶν πραγμάτων, θορύβου,[1] πολέμου ἀναγκαίου,[2] πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμάχων ἀποστάσεως, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, ὅσα ἄλλα τότε δυσχερῆ κατελάμβανεν, ἴσως ἤδη διελθεῖν ἄξιον. ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης ὁμονοίας διῴκητο, παρῆν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτάττων βοηθεῖν κινδυνεύουσι, πορείαις ταχείαις[3] χρησάμενος ὅπως μὲν ἐκ[4] Παιόνων ἐν Σύροις ὤφθης, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξαι ῥᾴδιον· ἀρκεῖ

[1] πραγμάτων θορύβου Wyttenbach, θορύβου πραγμάτων MSS, Hertlein. [2] ἀναγκαίου Capps suggests, γενναίου MSS, Hertlein. [3] πορείαις ταχείαις Capps suggests, πορείας μὲν τάχει MSS, Hertlein. [4] ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Petavius, ἀθρόως ἐκ MSS, Hertlein.

can be called a good bargain if it be not honourable as well. In general, if anyone wish to apply the test of expediency alone, he ought not to make money his criterion or reckon up his revenues from estates, like those old misers whom writers of comedy bring on to the stage, but he should take into account the vastness of the empire and the point of honour involved. If the Emperor had disputed about the boundaries and taken a hostile attitude, he might have obtained more than he did, but he would have governed only his allotted share. But he scorned and despised such trifles, and the result was that he really governed the whole world in partnership with his brothers, but had the care of his own portion only, and, while he kept his dignity unimpaired, he had less than his share of the toil and trouble that go with such a position.

On that subject, however, I shall have a chance later to speak in more detail. This is perhaps the right moment to describe how you controlled the situation, encompassed as you were, after your father's death, by so many perils and difficulties of all sorts—confusion, an unavoidable war, numerous hostile raids, allies in revolt, lack of discipline in the garrisons, and all the other harassing conditions of the hour. You concluded in perfect harmony the negotiations with your brothers, and when the time had arrived that demanded your aid for the dangerous crisis of affairs, you made forced marches, and immediately after leaving Paeonia appeared in Syria. But to relate how you did this would tax my powers of description, and indeed for those who know the

δὲ τοῖς ἐγνωκόσιν ἡ πεῖρα. ὅπως δὲ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τὴν σὴν ἀθρόως ἅπαντα μεταβαλόντα καὶ μεταστάντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπικρεμασθέντων ἡμᾶς ἀπήλλαξε φόβων, ἀμείνους δὲ μακρῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων παρέσχεν ἐλπίδας, τίς ἂν ἀρκέσειε τῶν ἁπάντων εἰπεῖν; τὰ D
μὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων, πλησίον γενομένου μόνον, ἐπέπαυτο τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ μεθειστήκει πρὸς κόσμον, Ἀρμενίων δὲ οἱ προσθέμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐθὺς μετέστησαν, σοῦ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς φυγῆς τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἄρχοντι παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγόντος, τοῖς φεύγουσι δὲ τὴν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν κάθοδον ἀδεᾶ παρασκευάσαντος. οὕτω δὲ φιλανθρώπως τοῖς τε παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένοις ἄρτι χρησαμένου καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς μετὰ τοῦ 2
σφῶν ἄρχοντος κατεληλυθόσι πρᾴως ὁμιλοῦντος, οἱ μέν, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, αὑτοὺς ἀπωλοφύραντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην τῆς πρόσθεν ἠγάπων μᾶλλον δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες ἔμπροσθεν ἔργῳ σωφρονεῖν ἔφασαν ἐκμαθεῖν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ μὴ μεταστῆναι τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἀξίας τυγχάνειν. τοσαύτῃ δὲ ἐχρήσω περὶ τοὺς κατελθόντας ὑπερβολῇ δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῆς, ὥστε μηδὲ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις σφῶν εὖ πράττουσι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα 1
τιμωμένοις ἄχθεσθαι μηδὲ βασκαίνειν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ καταστησάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραβίας λῃστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς πρεσβείαις τρέψας, ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς ἦλθες, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ χεῖρον ἐν βραχεῖ προειπεῖν.

facts their own experience is enough. But who in the world could describe adequately how, at the prospect of your arrival, everything was changed and improved all at once, so that we were set free from the fears that hung over us and could entertain brighter hopes than ever for the future? Even before you were actually on the spot the mutiny among the garrisons ceased and order was restored. The Armenians who had gone over to the enemy at once changed sides again, for you ejected from the country and sent to Rome those who were responsible for the governor's[1] exile, and you secured for the exiles a safe return to their own country. You were so merciful to those who now came to Rome as exiles, and so kind in your dealings with those who returned from exile with the governor, that the former did, indeed, bewail their misfortune in having revolted, but still were better pleased with their present condition than with their previous usurpation; while the latter, who were formerly in exile, declared that the experience had been a lesson in prudence, but that now they were receiving a worthy reward for their loyalty. On the returned exiles you lavished such magnificent presents and rewards that they could not even resent the good fortune of their bitterest enemies, nor begrudge their being duly honoured. All these difficulties you quickly settled, and then by means of embassies you turned the marauding Arabs against our enemies. Then you began preparations for the war, about which I may as well say a few words.

[1] Tiranus, King of Armenia, was now, 337 A.D., deposed and imprisoned by Sapor. His son, Arsaces, succeeded him in 341. Julian is describing the interregnum. Gibbon, chap. 18, wrongly ascribes these events to the reign of Tiridates, who died 314 A.D.

Τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τῆς πρόσθεν τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένοις ἀνείσης τοὺς πόνους, τοῖς λειτουργοῦσι δὲ κουφοτέρας τὰς λειτουργίας[1] παρασχούσης, τοῦ πολέμου δὲ χρημάτων καὶ σιτηρεσίου καὶ χορηγίας λαμπρᾶς δεομένου, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπειρίας τῶν στρατευομένων, ὑπάρχοντος δὲ οὐδενὸς σχεδὸν τῶν τοιούτων, αὐτὸς ἐξηῦρες καὶ κατέστησας, τοῖς μὲν ἐν[2] ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι λαχοῦσιν ἀποδείξας τῶν πόνων μελέτην, παραπλησίαν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππικὴν καταστησάμενος δύναμιν, τῷ πεζῷ δὲ ἐπιτάξας τῶν πόνων ἔχεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα οὐ ῥήμασι μόνον οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, μελετῶν δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ συνασκούμενος καὶ δεικνύων ἔργῳ τὸ 1
πρακτέον, πολέμων ἐργάτας ἄφνω κατέστησας. χρημάτων δὲ ἐπενόεις πόρους, οὐκ αὔξων τοὺς φόρους οὐδὲ τὰς συντάξεις, καθάπερ Ἀθηναῖοι πρόσθεν, εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον καταστήσας, ἐμμένων δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πλὴν εἴ που πρὸς βραχὺ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν[3] ἐχρῆν αἰσθέσθαι δαπανηροτέρων τῶν λειτουργημάτων. ἐν τοσαύτῃ δὲ[4] τοὺς στρατευομένους ἦγες ἀφθονίᾳ, ὡς 2
μήτε ὑβρίζειν τῷ κόρῳ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας πλημμελεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι. ὅπλων δὲ καὶ ἵππων παρασκευὴν καὶ νεῶν τῶν ποταμίων καὶ μηχανημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τὸ πλῆθος σιωπῇ κατέχω. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τέλος εἶχε

[1] τὰς λειτουργίας Reiske adds. [2] ἐν Reiske adds.
[3] καιρὸν Cobet, εὔκαιρον MSS, Hertlein. ἄκαιρον V, ἀκαριαῖον Hertlein conjectures. [4] δὲ Wright, τε Schaefer, Hertlein.

The previous period of peace had relaxed the labours of the troops, and lightened the burdens of those who had to perform public services. But the war called for money, provisions, and supplies on a vast scale, and even more it demanded endurance, energy, and military experience on the part of the troops. In the almost entire absence of all these, you personally provided and organised everything, drilled those who had reached the age for military service, got together a force of cavalry to match the enemy's, and issued orders for the infantry to persevere in their training. Nor did you confine yourself to speeches and giving orders, but yourself trained and drilled with the troops, showed them their duty by actual example, and straightway made them experts in the art of war. Then you discovered ways and means, not by increasing the tribute or the extraordinary contributions, as the Athenians did in their day, when they raised these to double or even more. You were content, I understand, with the original revenues, except in cases where, for a short time, and to meet an emergency, it was necessary that the people should find their services to the state more expensive. The troops under your leadership were abundantly supplied, yet not so as to cause the satiety that leads to insolence, nor, on the other hand, were they driven to insubordination from lack of necessaries.

I shall say nothing about your great array of arms, horses, and river-boats, engines of war and the like. But when all was ready and the time had come to

καὶ ἔδει χρῆσθαι τοῖς προρρηθεῖσιν εἰς δέον, ἐζεύγνυτο μὲν ὁ Τίγρης σχεδίᾳ πολλάκις, ἤρθη δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούρια, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἀμῦναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθουμένῃ, πάντα δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἤγετο τἀκείνων ἀγαθά, τῶν μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι τολμώντων, τῶν θρασυνομένων δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑποσχόντων. τὸ μὲν δὴ κεφάλαιον τῶν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσβολῶν τοιοῦτον. καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπεξιέναι τίς ἂν ἀξίως ἐν βραχεῖ λόγῳ δυνηθείη, τῶν μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν δὲ τὰς ἀριστείας ἀπαριθμούμενος; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν οὐ χαλεπόν, ὅτι πολλάκις τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκεῖνον περαιωθεὶς ξὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίψας[1] χρόνον, λαμπρὸς ἐπανῄεις τοῖς τροπαίοις, τὰς διὰ σὲ πόλεις ἐλευθέρας ἐπιὼν καὶ χαριζόμενος εἰρήνην καὶ πλοῦτον, πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ τῶν πάλαι ποθουμένων διδοὺς ἀπολαύειν, νίκης κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τροπαίων ἐγειρομένων κατὰ τῆς Παρθυαίων ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας,[2] ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπεδείξαντο τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συγχέαντες, τὸ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀμύνεσθαι.

Ἀλλ' ὅπως μή τις ὑπολάβῃ με τούτων μὲν ἡδέως μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ἔργων, ὀκνεῖν δὲ ἐκεῖνα, περὶ ἃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις πλεονεκτῆσαι παρέσχεν ἡ τύχη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ χώρα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσλαβοῦσα ῥοπήν, ὡς αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ

[1] διατρίψας Cobet, τρίψας MSS, Hertlein.
[2] ἀνανδρίας [καὶ δειλίας] Hertlein. M omits καὶ before δειλίας, hence Petavius omits δειλίας.

make appropriate use of all that I have mentioned, the Tigris was bridged by rafts at many points and forts were built to guard the river. Meanwhile the enemy never once ventured to defend their country from plunder, and every useful thing that they possessed was brought in to us. This was partly because they were afraid to offer battle, partly because those who were rash enough to do so were punished on the spot. This is a mere summary of your invasions of the enemy's country. Who, indeed, in a short speech could do justice to every event, or reckon up the enemy's disasters and our successes? But this at least I have space to tell. You often crossed the Tigris with your army and spent a long time in the enemy's country, but you always returned crowned with the laurels of victory. Then you visited the cities you had freed, and bestowed on them peace and plenty, all possible blessings and all at once. Thus at your hands they received what they had so long desired, the defeat of the barbarians and the erection of trophies of victory over the treachery and cowardice of the Parthians. Treachery they had displayed when they violated the treaties and broke the peace, cowardice when they lacked the courage to fight for their country and all that they held dear.

But lest anyone should suppose that, while I delight in recalling exploits like these, I avoid mentioning occasions when luck gave the enemy the advantage—or rather it was the nature of the ground combined with opportunity that turned

ἔπαινον καὶ τιμὴν φέροντα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πειράσομαι δηλῶσαι διὰ βραχέων, οὐ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελέστατον ἐμαυτῷ τοὺς λόγους πλάττων, τὴν ἀλήθειαν δὲ ἀγαπῶν ἐν πᾶσιν. ἧς εἴ τις ἑκὼν ἁμαρτάνοι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν αἰσχύνην οὐδαμῶς ἐκφεύγει, προστίθησι δὲ τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις τὸ δοκεῖν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εὖ ἀκούειν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν· ὃ παθεῖν εὐλαβησόμεθα. δείξει δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτός, εἰ μηδαμοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τετίμηκεν. οὐκοῦν εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι πάντες ἂν μέγιστον φήσειαν πλεονέκτημα τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν πρὸ τῶν Σιγγάρων πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην ἴσα μὲν ἐνεγκεῖν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τὰ δυστυχήματα, δεῖξαι δὲ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν περιγενομένην τῆς ἐκείνων τύχης φαίην ἂν εἰκότως, καὶ ταῦτα στρατοπέδῳ χρησαμένου[1] θρασεῖ καὶ τολμηρῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνίγους ῥώμην οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις συνήθει. ὅπως δὲ ἕκαστον ἐπράχθη, διηγήσομαι. θέρος μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀκμάζον ἔτι, συνῄει δὲ ἐς ταὐτὸν τὰ στρατόπεδα πολὺ πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας. ἐκπληττόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πλήθει θαυμαστοὶ φανέντες, ἤρχετο μὲν οὐδεὶς τῆς μάχης, τῶν μὲν εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι πρὸς οὕτω παρεσκευασμένην δύναμιν ὀκνούντων, τῶν δὲ περιμενόντων ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, ὅπως ἀμυνόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐν πᾶσιν, οὐχὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ πολέμου μετὰ τὴν

[1] χρησαμένου Hertlein suggests, χρησάμενον V, χρησαμένην MSS.

the scale—and that I do so because they brought us no honour or glory but only disgrace, I will try to give a brief account of those incidents also, not adapting my narrative with an eye to my own interests, but preferring the truth in every case. For when a man deliberately sins against the truth he cannot escape the reproach of flattery, and moreover he inflicts on the object of his panegyric the appearance of not deserving the praise that he receives on other accounts. This is a mistake of which I shall beware. Indeed my speech will make it clear that in no case has fiction been preferred to the truth. Now I am well aware that all would say that the battle we fought before Singara[1] was a most important victory for the barbarians. But I should answer and with justice that this battle inflicted equal loss on both armies, but proved also that your valour could accomplish more than their luck; and that although the legions under you were violent and reckless men, and were not accustomed, like the enemy, to the climate and the stifling heat. I will relate exactly what took place.

It was still the height of summer, and the legions mustered long before noon. Since the enemy were awestruck by the discipline, accoutrements and calm bearing of our troops, while to us they seemed amazing in numbers, neither side began the battle; for they shrank from coming to close quarters with forces so well equipped, while we waited for them to begin, so that in all respects we might seem to be acting rather in self-defence, and not to be respon-

[1] In Mesopotamia, 348 A.D. (Bury argues for 344 A.D.)

εἰρήνην ἄρχοντες φανεῖεν. τέλος δὲ ὁ τῆς βαρ-
βαρικῆς ἐκείνης δυνάμεως ἡγεμών, μετέωρος ἀρθεὶς D
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ καταμαθὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν
τάξει, οἷος ἐξ οἵου γέγονε καὶ ποίας ἀφίει φωνάς;
προδεδόσθαι βοῶν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου
πείσαντας αἰτιώμενος, φεύγειν ᾤετο χρῆναι διὰ
τάχους καὶ τοῦτο μόνον οἱ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀρ-
κέσειν, εἰ φθήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι, ὅσπερ
ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν
ὅρος ἀρχαῖος. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκεῖνος πρῶτον
ἐπὶ πόδα σημαίνει τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ κατ'
ὀλίγον προστιθεὶς τῷ τάχει τέλος ἤδη καρ- 24
τερῶς ἔφευγεν, ἔχων ὀλίγους ἱππέας ἀμφ'
αὐτόν, τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ
πιστοτάτῳ τῶν φίλων ἐπιτρέψας ἄγειν. ταῦτα
ὁρῶντες τὸ στράτευμα καὶ χαλεπαίνοντες, ὅτι
μηδεμίαν ὑπέσχον τῶν τετολμημένων δίκην, ἐβόων
ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ κελεύοντος σοῦ[1] μένειν ἀχθό-
μενοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔθεον ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχε
ῥώμης τε καὶ τάχους, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες αὐτοὶ τέως
τῆς σῆς στρατηγίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁρῶντες B
ἄμεινον αὐτῶν τὸ συμφέρον κρίνειν ἧττον ἐπί-
στευον· καὶ τῷ πολλὰς[2] συγκατειργάσθαι τῷ
πατρὶ τῷ σῷ μάχας καὶ κρατῆσαι πανταχοῦ τὸ[3]
δοκεῖν ἀηττήτους εἶναι συνηγωνίζετο. τούτων δὲ
οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον τὸ παρεστὼς Παρθυαίων δέος
ἐπῆρεν ὡς οὐκ ἀγωνισαμένους[4] πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας

[1] κελεύοντος σοῦ Hertlein suggests, κελεύοντος MSS.
[2] τῷ πολλὰς Cobet, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.
[3] τὸ Cobet, τῷ MSS, Hertlein. [4] ἀγωνισαμένους Rouse suggests, ἀγωνισομένους MSS, Hertlein.

sible for beginning hostilities after the peace. But at last the leader[1] of the barbarian army, raised high on their shields, perceived the magnitude of our forces drawn up in line. What a change came over him! What exclamations he uttered! He cried out that he had been betrayed, that it was the fault of those who had persuaded him to go to war, and decided that the only thing to be done was to flee with all speed, and that one course alone would secure his safety, namely to cross, before we could reach it, the river, which is the ancient boundary-line between that country and ours. With this purpose he first gave the signal for a retreat in good order, then gradually increasing his pace he finally took to headlong flight, with only a small following of cavalry, and left his whole army to the leadership of his son and the friend in whom he had most confidence. When our men saw this they were enraged that the barbarians should escape all punishment for their audacious conduct, and clamoured to be led in pursuit, chafed at your order to halt, and ran after the enemy in full armour with their utmost energy and speed. For of your generalship they had had no experience so far, and they could not believe that you were a better judge than they of what was expedient. Moreover, under your father they had fought many battles and had always been victorious, a fact that tended to make them think themselves invincible. But they were most of all elated by the terror that the Parthians now shewed, when they thought how they had fought, not only against the enemy, but against the very nature of the ground,

[1] Sapor.

μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν αὐτήν, καὶ εἴ τι
μεῖζον ἔξωθεν προσπίπτοι, καὶ τούτου πάντως
κρατήσοντας. ταχέως οὖν ἑκατὸν μεταξὺ στάδια
διαδραμόντες[1] ἐφειστήκεσαν ἤδη Παρθυαίοις εἰς τὸ C
τεῖχος καταπεφευγόσιν, ὃ πρότερον ἤδη πεποίητο
σφίσιν ὥσπερ στρατόπεδον. ἑσπέρα δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν
καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτόθεν ξυνερρήγνυτο. καὶ τὸ μὲν
τεῖχος αἱροῦσιν εὐθέως τοὺς ὑπὲρ[2] αὐτοῦ κτείναντες·
γενόμενοι δὲ εἴσω τῶν ἐρυμάτων πολὺν μὲν ἠρίσ-
τευον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δίψους ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη
καὶ λάκκοις ὕδατος ἐντυχόντες ἔνδον, τὴν καλλίστην
νίκην διέφθειραν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέσχον
ἀναμαχέσασθαι τὸ πταῖσμα. τοῦτο τέλος τῆς D
μάχης ἐκείνης γέγονε, τρεῖς μὲν ἢ τέτταρας
ἀφελομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, Παρθυαίων δὲ τὸν
ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τρεφόμενον, ἁλόντα πρότερον,
καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν παμπληθεῖς ξυνδιαφθειράσης.
τούτοις δὲ ἅπασι δρωμένοις ὁ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων
ἡγεμὼν οὐδὲ ὄναρ παρῆν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέσχε τὴν
φυγὴν πρὶν ἢ κατὰ νώτου τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιή-
σατο· αὐτὸς δὲ διέμενες ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δι' ὅλης 25
ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἁπάσης, συμμετέχων μὲν τοῖς
κρατοῦσι τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων, τοῖς πονοῦσι δὲ ἐπαρ-
κῶν διὰ ταχέων. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐψυ-
χίας εἰς τοσοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα μετέστησας, ὥστε
αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβού-
σης ἀσμένως ἀποσώζεσθαι, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς
μάχης, ἑπομένου σου, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας· οὕτω
τὸ δέος πᾶσιν ἀνῆκας τῆς φυγῆς. ποῖον οὖν B

[1] διαδραμόντες Naber, δραμόντες MSS, Hertlein.
[2] τοὺς ὑπὲρ MSS, Cobet (τοὺς ἀμυνομένους) ὑπὲρ Hertlein.

and if any greater obstacle met them from some fresh quarter, they felt that they would overcome it as well. Accordingly they ran at full speed for about one hundred stades, and only halted when they came up with the Parthians, who had fled for shelter into a fort that they had lately built to serve as a camp. It was, by this time, evening, and they engaged battle forthwith. Our men at once took the fort and slew its defenders. Once inside the fortifications they displayed great bravery for a long time, but they were by this time fainting with thirst, and when they found cisterns of water inside, they spoiled a glorious victory and gave the enemy a chance to retrieve their defeat. This then was the issue of that battle, which caused us the loss of only three or four of our men, whilst the Parthians lost the heir to the throne[1] who had previously been taken prisoner, together with all his escort. While all this was going on, of the leader of the barbarians not even the ghost was to be seen, nor did he stay his flight till he had put the river behind him. You, on the other hand, did not take off your armour for a whole day and all the night, now sharing the struggles of those who were getting the upper hand, now giving prompt and efficient aid to those who were hard-pressed. And by your bravery and fortitude you so changed the face of the battle that at break of day the enemy were glad to beat a safe retreat to their own territory, and even the wounded, escorted by you, could retire from the battle. Thus did you relieve them all from the risks of flight. Now what fort was taken

[1] Sapor's son.

ἥλω φρούριον; τις δὲ ἐπολιορκήθη πόλις; τίνος δὲ ἀποσκευῆς οἱ πολέμιοι κρατήσαντες ἔσχον ἐφ' ὅτῳ σεμνύνωνται μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον;

Ἀλλ' ἴσως, φήσει τις, τὸ μηδέποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἧττον ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εὐτυχὲς καὶ εὔδαιμον ἡγητέον,[1] *τὸ δὲ ἀντιστῆναι τῇ τύχῃ ῥωμαλεώτερον καὶ*[2] *μείζονος ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει σημεῖον.*

*Τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ἐν εὐδίᾳ τὴν
ναῦν κατευθύνων, γαλήνης ἀκριβοῦς κατεχούσης* C
*τὸ πέλαγος; τίς δὲ ἡνίοχος ἅρματος δεξιὸς ἐν
ὁμαλῷ καὶ λείῳ χωρίῳ εὐπειθεῖς καὶ πρᾴους καὶ
ταχεῖς ἵππους ζευξάμενος, εἶτα ἐν τούτοις ἐπιδεικ-
νύμενος τὴν τέχνην; πόσῳ δὲ ἀμείνων νεὼς
μὲν ἰθυντὴρ ὁ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα προμα-
θὼν καὶ προαισθόμενος καὶ πειραθείς γε τοῦτον
ἐκκλῖναι, εἶτα δι' ἀσδηποτοῦν αἰτίας ἐμπεσὼν
καὶ διασώσας ἀπαθῆ τὴν ναῦν αὐτῷ φόρτῳ;
ἅρματος δ' ἐπιστάτης ὁ καὶ πρὸς χωρίων ἀγω-* D
*νιζόμενος τραχύτητα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους μετατιθεὶς
ἅμα καὶ βιαζόμενος, ἤν τι πλημμελῶσιν; ὅλως
δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἄξιον τέχνην μετὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξετά-
ζειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς σκοπεῖν. οὐδὲ
στρατηγὸς ἀμείνων ὁ Κλέων Νικίου, ἐπειδὴ τὰ
περὶ τὴν Πύλον ηὐτύχησεν, οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν
τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ κρατούντων. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὴ
καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν σὴν ἀμείνω καὶ δικαιοτέραν
τῆς τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἁπάντων
ἀνθρώπων κρατίστην φήσαιμι, ἀδικεῖν ἂν εἰκότως* 26

[1] *ἡγητέον* Schaefer, *ἡγεῖ τὸ δὲ* Cobet, Hertlein, *ἡγεῖτο δὲ* V, M, *ἡγῇ τὸ δὲ* MSS.

[2] *καὶ* Reiske, *ὃ καὶ* MSS.

by the enemy? What city did they besiege? What military supplies did they capture that should give them something to boast about after the war?

But perhaps some one will say that never to come off worse than the enemy must indeed be considered good fortune and felicity, but to make a stand against fortune calls for greater vigour and is a proof of greater valour.

Is a man a skilful pilot because he can steer his ship in fair weather when the sea is absolutely calm? Would you call a charioteer an expert driver who on smooth and level ground has in harness horses that are gentle, quiet and swift, and under such conditions gives a display of his art? How much more skilful is the pilot who marks and perceives beforehand the coming storm and tries to avoid its path, and then, if for any reason he must face it, brings off his ship safe and sound, cargo and all? Just so, the skilful charioteer is he who can contend against the unevenness of the ground, and guide his horses and control them at the same time, if they grow restive. In short, it is not fair to judge of skill of any sort when it is aided by fortune, but one must examine it independently. Cleon was not a better general than Nicias because he was fortunate in the affair of Pylos, and the same may be said of all whose success is due to luck rather than to good judgment. But if I did not claim that your fortune was both better and better deserved than that of your opponents, or rather of all men, I should with reason be thought to do it an injustice, since it

δοκοίην, τὴν μὴ παρασχοῦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσθέσθαι τὸ πλεονέκτημα. χρὴ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥηθέντων κρινοῦντα[1] τὸ μὲν ἐλάττωμα τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ἀνανταγωνίστῳ ῥώμῃ λογίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἴσον καταστῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπολαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αἰσθέσθαι συμφορῶν, ἀγνοῆσαι δὲ τὰ κατορθώματα τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης ἔργον λογίζεσθαι.

Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ μακρότερα περὶ τούτων λέγων B
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειζόνων καιρὸν ἀναλώσω, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο περιστὰν ἡμᾶς τῶν πραγμάτων πλῆθος διεξιέναι[2] καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ὅπως ἅπασιν ἀντισχὼν τυράννων μὲν πλῆθος, βαρβάρων δὲ ἐτρέψω δυνάμεις. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις ἤδη, ἕκτον που μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔτος, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, ἧκε δὲ ἀγγέλλων τις, ὡς Γαλατία C
μὲν συναφεστῶσα τῷ τυράννῳ ἀδελφῷ τῷ σῷ ἐβούλευσέ τε καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν φόνον, εἶτα ὡς Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία κατείληπται, τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατόπεδα ταραχωδῶς ἔχει καὶ βασιλέα σφῶν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τέως στρατηγὸν ἀντισχεῖν ἐθέλοντα πρὸς τὴν ἄμαχον δοκοῦσαν τῶν τυράννων φοράν. ἱκέτευε δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος χρήματα πέμπειν καὶ δύναμιν τὴν βοηθήσουσαν, σφόδρα ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων, μὴ πρὸς τῶν τυράννων κρατηθείη. καὶ τέως μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο D
τὰ προσήκοντα δράσειν, οὐδαμῶς αὑτὸν ἀξιῶν

[1] κρινοῦντα Cobet, κρίνοντα MSS, Hertlein.
[2] διεξιέναι Reiske, lacuna Hertlein following Petavius.

prevented the enemy from even perceiving their advantage. For, in my opinion, an impartial judge of my narrative ought to ascribe our reverse to the extreme and insupportable heat, and the fact that you inflicted loss on the enemy equal to ours he would regard as achieved by your valour, but that, though they were aware of their losses, they took no account of their success, he would regard as brought about by your good fortune.

That I may not, however, by saying more on this subject, spend time that belongs to more important affairs, I will try to describe next the multitude of difficulties that beset us, the magnitude of our perils, and how you faced them all, and not only routed the numerous following of the usurpers, but the barbarian forces as well.

About six years had passed since the war I have just described, and the winter was nearly over, when a messenger arrived with the news[1] that Galatia[2] had gone over to the usurper, that a plot had been made to assassinate your brother and had been carried out, also that Italy and Sicily had been occupied, lastly that the Illyrian garrisons were in revolt and had proclaimed their general[3] emperor, though for a time he had been inclined to resist what seemed to be the irresistible onset of the usurpers.[4] Indeed, he himself kept imploring you to send money and men to his aid, as though he were terribly afraid on his own account of being overpowered by them. And for a while he kept protesting that he would do his duty, that for his part he had no pretensions to the throne, but

[1] cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 169. [2] Gaul.
[3] Vetranio. [4] Demosthenes, *De Corona* 61.

τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπίτροπον δὲ οἶμαι πιστὸν καὶ φύλακα
παρέξειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος· ἔμελλε δὲ οὐκ εἰς
μακρὰν ἄπιστος φανεῖσθαι καὶ δίκην ὑφέξειν
καίτοι[1] φιλάνθρωπον. ταῦτα πυθόμενος οὐκ ᾤου
δεῖν ἐν ῥᾳστώνῃ πολλῇ τὸν χρόνον ἀναλίσκειν
μάτην. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ πόλεις
μηχανημάτων καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ σίτου καὶ τῆς
ἄλλης παρασκευῆς[2] ἐμπλήσας, καὶ ἀπὼν ἀρκέσειν
τοῖς τῇδε προσεδόκησας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 27
τυράννους ὁρμᾶν ἐβουλεύου.

Πέρσαι δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον
παραφυλάξαντες, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν Συρίαν
ληψόμενοι, πᾶσαν ἐξαναστήσαντες ἡλικίαν καὶ
φύσιν καὶ τύχην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηντο, ἄνδρες,
μειράκια, πρεσβῦται καὶ γυναικῶν πλῆθος καὶ
θεραπόντων, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ὑπουργιῶν χάριν, ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ πλεῖστον
ἑπόμενον. διενοοῦντο γὰρ ὡς καὶ τὰς πόλεις
καθέξοντες καὶ τῆς χώρας ἤδη κρατήσαντες B
κληρούχους ἡμῖν ἐπάγειν.[3] κενὰς δὲ ἀπέφηνεν
αὐτοῖς τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς σῆς
τὸ μέγεθος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, ἐπετειχίζετο μὲν ἡ πόλις κύκλῳ τοῖς χώμασιν, ἐπέρρει δὲ ὁ Μυγδόνιος πελαγίζων τὸ περὶ τῷ τείχει χωρίον, καθάπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, φασί, τὴν Αἴγυπτον. προσήγετο δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι τὰ μηχανήματα, καὶ ἐπιπλεῖν ἄλλοι

[1] καίτοι Reiske, καὶ MSS, Hertlein. Petavius omits καί.
[2] παρασκευῆς V, παρασκευῆς ἀπάσης MSS.
[3] ἐπάγειν Hertlein suggests, ἐπάξοντες Wyttenbach, ἐπαύξουσι V, ἐπάξουσι MSS.

would faithfully guard and protect it for you. Such were his assertions, but it was not long before his treachery came to light and he received his punishment, tempered though it was with mercy. On learning these facts you thought you ought not to waste your time in idleness to no purpose. The cities of Syria you stocked with engines of war, garrisons, food supplies, and equipment of other kinds, considering that, by these measures, you would, though absent, sufficiently protect the inhabitants, while you were planning to set out in person against the usurpers.

But the Persians ever since the last campaign had been watching for just such an opportunity, and had planned to conquer Syria by a single invasion. So they mustered all forces, every age, sex, and condition, and marched against us, men and mere boys, old men and crowds of women and slaves, who followed not merely to assist in the war, but in vast numbers beyond what was needed. For it was their intention to reduce the cities, and once masters of the country, to bring in colonists in spite of us. But the magnitude of your preparations made it manifest that their expectations were but vanity. They began the siege and completely surrounded the city[1] with dykes, and then the river Mygdonius flowed in and flooded the ground about the walls, as they say the Nile floods Egypt. The siege-engines were brought up against the ramparts on boats, and their

[1] Nisibis.

διενοοῦντο τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ C
τῶν χωμάτων τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἤμυνον καρτερῶς τῇ πόλει. μεστὰ δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα σωμάτων καὶ ναυαγίων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταδυομένων, τῶν δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς βίας κατενεχθέντα κατέδυ, κουφιζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ἀσπίδες μὲν ἐπενήχοντο βαρβάρων παμπληθεις καὶ νεῶν σέλματα[1] συντριβομένων ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς τῶν μηχανημάτων. βελῶν πλῆθος ἐπινηχόμενον μι- D
κροῦ δεῖν ἐπεῖχεν ἅπαν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῶν χωμάτων. ἐτέτραπτο δὲ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς λύθρον, καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπήχουν οἰμωγαὶ βαρβάρων ὀλλύντων μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὀλλυμένων[2] δὲ πολυτρόπως καὶ τιτρωσκομένων ποικίλοις τραύμασι.

Τίς ἂν ἀξίως τῶν δρωμένων διηγοῖτο; πῦρ μὲν ἐνίετο ταῖς ἀσπίσιν, ἐξέπιπτον δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἡμίκαυτοι πολλοί, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀποδιδράσκοντες τὴν φλόγα τὸν ἐκ τῶν βελῶν οὐκ ἀπεφευγον κίνδυνον· ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἔτι νηχόμενοι τὰ νῶτα 28
τρωθέντες ἐς βυθὸν κατεδύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξαλλόμενοι τῶν μηχανημάτων πρὶν ὕδατος ἅψασθαι βληθέντες οὐ σωτηρίαν, κουφότερον δὲ εὗρον τὸν[3] θάνατον. τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ νεῖν εἰδότας ἀκλεέστερον τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπολλυμένους τίς ἂν ἀξιώσειεν ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μνήμης; ἐπιλείψει με, καθ᾽ ἕκαστον εἰ πᾶσιν ἐπεξελθεῖν βουλοίμην, ὁ χρόνος· τὸ

[1] σέλματα Reiske, ἕρματα MSS, Hertlein. Reiske suggests συντριβομένων. ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς δὲ μηχανημάτων καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος.

[2] ὀλλυμένων Cobet, ἀπολλυμένων MSS, Hertlein.

[3] εὗρον τὸν Cobet, ηὕροντο Hertlein, εὗρον τὸν V, εὕραντο MSS.

plan was that one force should sail to attack the walls while the other kept shooting on the city's defenders from the mounds. But the garrison made a stout defence of the city from the walls. The whole place was filled with corpses, wreckage, armour, and missiles, of which some were just sinking, while others, after sinking from the violence of the first shock, floated on the waters. A vast number of barbarian shields and also ship's benches, as a result of the collisions of the siege-engines on the ships, drifted on the surface. The mass of floating weapons almost covered the whole surface between the wall and the mounds. The lake was turned to gore, and all about the walls echoed the groans of the barbarians, slaying not, but being slain[1] in manifold ways and by all manner of wounds.

Who could find suitable words to describe all that was done there? They hurled fire down on to the shields, and many of the hoplites fell half-burned, while others who fled from the flames could not escape the danger from the missiles. But some while still swimming were wounded in the back and sank to the bottom, while others who jumped from the siege-engines were hit before they touched the water, and so found not safety indeed but an easier death. As for those who knew not how to swim, and perished more obscurely than those just mentioned, who would attempt to name or number them? Time would fail me did I desire to recount all this in detail. It is enough that you

[1] cf. *Iliad*, 4. 451. ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων.

κεφάλαιον δὲ ἀκούειν ἀπόχρη. ταύτην ἥλιος B ἐπεῖδε τὴν μάχην ἄγνωστον ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον· ταῦτα τὴν παλαιὰν ἀλαζονείαν ἤλεγξε τῶν Μήδων τῦφον ὄντα κενόν· ταῦτα τῆς Ξέρξου παρασκευῆς ἀπιστουμένης τέως τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ τοσαύτη γενομένη τέλος ἔσχεν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπονείδιστον, ἐναργέστερον τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι γνωρίμων ἡμῖν κατέστησεν. ὁ μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο πλεῖν καὶ πεζεύειν ἀπεναντίον τῇ φύσει μαχόμενος καί, ὥσπερ οὖν ᾤετο, κρατῶν ἠπείρου φύσεως C καὶ θαλάττης ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἡττᾶτο σοφίας καὶ ῥώμης στρατιωτῶν οὐ τρυφᾶν μεμελετηκότων οὐδὲ δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως ἄρχεσθαι καὶ πονεῖν εἰδότων. ὁ δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐκείνου καταδεέστερος, ἔμπληκτος δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τοὺς Ἀλωάδας ὑπερβαλλόμενος μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ πλησίον ὄρος ἐγνωκὼς ἀμφικαλύψαι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαφιεὶς δὲ ποταμῶν ῥεύματα καὶ τὰ τείχη διαλύσας οὐδὲ D ἀτειχίστου τῆς πόλεως περιγενόμενος ἔσχεν ἐφ' ὅτῳ σεμνύνηται, καθάπερ ὁ Ξέρξης ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐμβαλὼν τὴν φλόγα. ἐπανῄει δὲ τεττάρων μηνῶν ἀναλώσας χρόνον μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἧττον ἀπάγων τὸ σράτευμα, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἠγάπησεν ὁ πρόσθεν ἀφόρητος δοκῶν, τὴν σὴν ἀσχολίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πραγμάτων ταραχὴν ὥσπερ ἔρυμα τῆς αὑτοῦ προβαλλόμενος σωτηρίας.

Ταῦτα καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τρόπαια καὶ

should hear the sum of the matter. On that day the sun beheld a battle the like of which no man had ever known before. These events exposed the historic boastings of the Medes as only empty conceit. Till then men had hardly believed that Xerxes could have had so huge an armament, seeing that for all its size its fate was so shameful and ignominious; but these events made the fact clearer to us than things long familiar and obvious. Xerxes tried to sail and to march by fighting against the laws of nature, and, as he thought, overcame the nature of the sea and of the dry land, but he proved to be no match for the wisdom and endurance of a Greek whose soldiers had not been bred in the school of luxury, nor learned to be slaves, but knew how to obey and to use their energies like free-born men. That man,[1] however, though he had no such vast armament as Xerxes, was even more insensate, and outdid the Aloadae in his infatuation, as if almost he had conceived the idea of overwhelming the city with the mountain[2] that was hard by. Then he turned the currents of rivers against its walls and undermined them, but even when the city had lost its walls he could not succeed in taking it, so that he had not even that triumph to boast of, as Xerxes had when he set fire to Athens. So, after spending four months, he retreated with an army that had lost many thousands, and he who had always seemed to be irresistible was glad to keep the peace, and to use as a bulwark for his own safety the fact that you had no time to spare and that our own affairs were in confusion.

Such were the trophies and victories that you

[1] Sapor. [2] *Odyssey* 8. 49.

νίκας, ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀκμῆτας ἦγες τὸ στρά- 29
τευμα, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐμπλῆσαι τροπαίων
ἐγνωκώς. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκεῖ[1] τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα, εἰ
καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν εἶχον σεμνότερον,
πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἀποφῆναί σε τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς
αὐτῆς σοι μετασχόντων τύχης συνέσει καὶ ῥώμῃ
κρατοῦντα. τὸ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς ὤσασθαι μὲν τὴν
Περσῶν δύναμιν, οὐ πόλιν οὐδὲ φρούριον, ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ στρατιώτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου προέμενον, B
πολιορκίᾳ δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι λαμπρὸν καὶ οἷον
οὔπω πρόσθεν ἠκούσαμεν, τίνι χρὴ τῶν ἔμπροσ-
θεν παραβαλεῖν ἔργων; περιβόητος γέγονεν ἡ
Καρχηδονίων ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς τόλμα, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτη-
σεν εἰς συμφοράς· λαμπρὰ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πλα-
ταιέων πολιορκίαν γενόμενα, ἐχρήσαντο δὲ οἱ
δείλαιοι γνωριμώτερον τοῖς δυστυχήμασι. τί χρὴ
Μεσσήνης καὶ Πύλου μεμνῆσθαι, οὔτε ἀγωνισαμέ-
νων καρτερῶς οὔτε ἁλόντων ξὺν βίᾳ; Συρακούσιοι C
δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀντιτάξαντες ταῖς παρα-
σκευαῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως καὶ τῷ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ
στρατηγῷ τί πλέον ὤναντο; οὐχ ἑάλωσαν μὲν
τῶν ἄλλων αἴσχιον, ἐσῴζοντο δὲ καλὸν ὑπόμνημα
τῆς τῶν ἑλόντων πρᾳότητος; Ἀλλ' εἰ πάσας
ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλοίμην, αἳ πρὸς τὰς
ὑποδεεστέρας οὐ κατήρκεσαν παρασκευάς, πόσας
οἴει μοι βίβλους ἀρκέσειν; τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ ἴσως
ἄξιον μνησθῆναι πάλαι ποτὲ χρησαμένης τύχῃ
τοιαύτῃ, Γαλατῶν οἶμαι καὶ Κελτῶν ἐς ταὐτὸ D

[1] ἀρκεῖ Cobet, ἤρκει MSS, Hertlein.

left behind you in Asia, and you led your troops to Europe in perfect condition, determined to fill the whole world with the monuments of your victories. Even if I had nothing more wonderful to relate about you, what I have said is enough to demonstrate that in good sense and energy you surpass all those in the past whose fortune was the same as yours. Indeed to have repulsed the whole strength of Persia and remain unscathed, not to have lost so much as a soldier from the ranks, much less a town or fort, and finally to have brought the siege to so brilliant and unprecedented a conclusion,—what achievement I ask in the past could one compare with this? The Carthaginians were famous for their daring in the face of danger, but they ended in disaster. The siege of Plataea shed lustre on its citizens, but all that their valour could do for those unhappy men was to make their misfortunes more widely known. What need to quote Messene or Pylos, since there the defeated did not make a brave defence nor was a vigorous assault necessary to subdue them? As for the Syracusans, they had their famous man of science[1] to aid them against the armaments of Rome and our illustrious general,[2] but what did he avail them in the end? Did they not fall more ignominiously than the rest, and were only spared to be a glorious monument of their conqueror's clemency? But if I wished to reckon up all the states that could not withstand armaments inferior to their own, how many volumes do you think would suffice? Rome, however, I ought perhaps to mention, because long ago she had just such a fortune, I mean when the Galatians and

[1] Archimedes. [2] Marcellus 212 B.C.

πνευσάντων καὶ φερομένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἐξαίφνης. κατέλαβον μὲν γὰρ τὸν λόφον ἐκεῖνον, οὗ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίδρυται βρέτας· γέρροις δὲ καί τισι τοιούτοις οἱονεὶ τείχει φραξάμενοι, πολυπραγμονούντων οὐδὲν προσιέναι τῶν πολεμίων βίᾳ τολμώντων, ἐκράτησαν.

Ταύτῃ παραβαλεῖν ἄξιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τὴν 30
ἔναγχος τῷ τέλει τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἔργοις οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν ὅσαι πάλαι γεγόνασι. τίς γὰρ ἔγνω κυκλουμένην μὲν ὕδασι πόλιν,[1] λόφοις δὲ ἔξωθεν καθάπερ δικτύοις περιβληθεῖσαν, καὶ ποταμὸν ἐπαφιέμενον οἱονεὶ μηχάνημα, συνεχῶς ῥέοντα καὶ προσρηγνύμενον τοῖς τείχεσι, τάς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑδάτων μάχας καὶ ὅσαι περὶ τῷ τείχει κατενεχθέντι γεγόνασιν;[2] ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀπόχρη καὶ ταῦτα· τὰ λειπόμενα δέ ἐστι μακρῷ σεμνότερα. καὶ τυχὸν οὐδαμῶς εὔλογον ἅπαξ B
ἑλόμενον ἁπάντων ἐς δύναμιν μνησθῆναι τῶν σοι πραχθέντων, ἀκμαζουσῶν ἔτι τῶν πράξεων, ἀφεῖναι τὴν διήγησιν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῖς ἔργοις προσκαθήμενος, ὧν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διῴκησας, πρεσβείας πέμπων καὶ ἀναλίσκων χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα τὰ προσκαθήμενα τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐν Παιονίᾳ ἐκπέμπων, τοῦ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τὸν πρεσβύτην ὑπὸ

[1] πόλιν Reiske, τὴν πόλιν MSS.
[2] γεγόνασιν; Wright, γεγόνασιν. Hertlein.

Celts[1] conspired together, and without warning poured down on the city like a winter torrent.[2] The citizens occupied the famous hill[3] on which stands the statue of Jupiter. There they intrenched themselves with wicker barricades and such like defences, as though with a wall, while the enemy offered no hindrance nor ventured to approach to attack at close quarters, and so they won the day.

It is with this siege that the recent one may well be compared, at least in the issue of its fortunes; for the actual occurrences could not be paralleled in all history. For who ever heard of surrounding a city with water, and from without throwing hills about it like nets, then hurling at it, like a siege-engine, a river that flowed in a steady stream and broke against its walls, or of fighting like that which took place in the water and about the wall where it had fallen in? For my purpose, this is, as I said, evidence enough. But what remains to tell is far more awe-inspiring. And perhaps, since I have undertaken to record, as far as possible, all that you accomplished, it is not fair to break off my narrative at the point where you were at the very height of your activity. For even while you were occupied by the interests I have just described, you arranged your affairs in Europe, despatching embassies, spending money, and sending out the legions that were garrisoning Paeonia against the Scythians, all of which was with the intention of preventing that feeble old man[4] from being overpowered by the

[1] The Galatians, *i.e.* the Gauls, and Celts are often thus incorrectly distinguished, cf. 34 c. 36 b. 124 a.

[2] 390 b.c. under Brennus.

[3] The Capitoline.

[4] Vetranio.

τοῦ τυράννου προνοῶν, πῶς ἂν τις ἐν βραχεῖ λόγῳ
παραστῆσαι δύναιτο καὶ πάνυ σπουδάζων; C
Ἐπεὶ δέ, ἤδη σου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὡρμημένου,
οὐκ οἶδα παρ' ὅτου δαιμόνων ἐξαιρεθεὶς τὸν νοῦν καὶ
τὰς φρένας ὁ τέως πιστὸς μενεῖν φύλαξ ἐπαγγελλό-
μενος καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατοπέδοις καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ περισωζόμενος εἰρήνην
ὡμολόγησε τῷ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιωτάτῳ
καὶ πολεμίῳ κοινῇ μὲν ἁπάντων, ὁπόσοις εἰρήνης
μέλει καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἐκ παντὸς στέργουσιν, ἰδίᾳ D
δὲ σοὶ καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων· οὔτε ἔδεισας τῆς
παρασκευῆς τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε ἀπίστων ἀνδρῶν
ξυμμαχίαν πλέον ἔχειν[1] ὑπέλαβες τῆς ἔμφρονος
γνώμης. ἐγκαλῶν δέ, ὡς εἰκός, τῷ μὲν ἀπιστίαν,
τῷ δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ πράξεων ἐναγῶν καὶ παρανόμων
τολμήματα, τὸν μὲν εἰς δίκην καὶ κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
στρατοπέδων προυκάλεις, τοῦ δὲ κριτὴν ὑπελάμ-
βανες εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ὁ
καλὸς καὶ συνετὸς ἀπήντα πρεσβύτης, εὐχερέστε- 31
ρον παιδαρίου τινὸς μετατιθέμενος τὰ δόξαντα καὶ
ὧν εὖ πάθοι δεόμενος μετὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐπιλήσμων·
παρῆν δὲ ἄγων ὁπλιτῶν φάλαγγας καὶ τάξεις
ἱππέων, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πείθοι, βιασόμενός σε[2] ὀπίσω
πάλιν ἀπιέναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἄπρακτον· οὐδὲν ἐκ-
πλαγείς, ὅτι τὸν σύμμαχον καὶ στρατηγὸν μενεῖν
ἐπαγγελλόμενον πολέμιον εἶδες ἐξ ἴσης ἄρχειν
ἐθέλοντα, καίτοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατευμάτων

[1] πλέον ἔχειν Hertlein suggests, πλέον MSS.
[2] σε Hertlein adds.

usurper.[1] But how could one, with the best will in the world, present all this in a short speech?

No sooner had you set out for the seat of war, than this very man, who had all along protested that he would loyally continue to guard your interests, though you had reinforced him with money, troops, and everything of the sort, was driven to folly and madness by I know not what evil spirit, and came to terms with the most execrable of mankind, the common enemy of all who care for peace and cherish harmony above all things, and more particularly your enemy for personal reasons. But you were undismayed by the magnitude of his preparations, nor would you admit that a conspiracy of traitors could overreach your own wise purpose. One[2] of the pair you justly accused of treason, the other[3] of infamous crimes besides, and deeds of lawless violence, and you summoned the former to trial and judgment before the legions, the latter you decided to leave to the arbitrament of war. Then he met you face to face, that honourable and prudent old man, who used to change his opinions more easily than any child, and, though he had begged for them, forgot all your favours as soon as the need had passed. He arrived with his phalanxes of hoplites and squadrons of cavalry, intending to compel, if he could not persuade you, to take no action and return the way you came. When, then, you saw this man, who had protested that he would continue to be your ally and general, playing an enemy's part and claiming an equal share of your empire, you were not at all dismayed, though his troops outnumbered

[1] Magnentius. [2] Vetranio. [3] Magnentius.

ἐλαττούμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντες εἵποντο, πρὸς πλήθει B
κρατοῦντα διαγωνίζεσθαι τολμηρὸν μὲν ἴσως,
σφαλερὸν δὲ πάντως[1] ὑπολαβὼν καὶ κρατήσαντι
τῇ μάχῃ διὰ τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς
πράγμασιν ἄγριον τύραννον, ἐβουλεύσω καλῶς
μόνον εἶναι σὸν ἐθέλων τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ παρῄεις
ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τοῦ τέως συνάρχοντος· συνῄει
δὲ ὁπλίτης δῆμος στίλβων τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὰ ξίφη
γυμνὰ καὶ τὰ δόρατα προτείνοντες, δειλῷ μὲν φρικώ- C
δες καὶ δεινὸν θέαμα, εὐψύχῳ δὲ καὶ θαρραλέῳ καὶ
οἷος αὐτὸς γέγονας ὄφελος γενναῖον. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ
πρῶτον ἦρξω τῶν λόγων, σιγὴ μὲν ἐπέσχε, πρὸς τὴν
ἀκοὴν ὡρμημένων πάντων, τὸ στράτευμα· δάκρυα δὲ
προυχεῖτο πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας
ὤρεγον, σιγῇ καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες, ὡς μήτις αἴσθηται.
τὴν εὔνοιαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδείκνυντο καὶ[2] διὰ τῆς
ὄψεως, πάντες δὲ τῷ σφόδρα ὡρμῆσθαι τῶν λόγων
ἀκούειν. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς δημηγορίας συνενθου- D
σιῶντες τῷ λόγῳ πάντες ἐπεκρότουν, εἶτα αὖθις
ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡσύχαζον. τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ
τῶν λόγων ἀναπειθόμενοι σὲ[3] μόνον ἐκάλουν
βασιλέα, μόνον ἄρχειν ἠξίουν ἁπάντων, ἡγεῖσθαι
σφῶν ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, ἀκολουθήσειν
ὡμολόγουν, ἀπολαμβάνειν ἠξίουν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ
γνωρίσματα. σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν χεῖρα προσάγειν
ᾤου δεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφελέσθαι ξὺν βίᾳ· ὁ δὲ ἄκων μὲν
καὶ μόλις, εἴξας δὲ ὅμως ὀψέ ποτε, φασί, τῇ

[1] πάντως Hertlein suggests, ἄλλως MSS, cf. 222 A 353 C.
[2] καὶ Hertlein adds.
[3] σὲ Reiske adds.

yours. For you had not brought your whole force with you, since you decided that to fight it out with such odds against you might be courageous but was in every way hazardous, even if you won the battle, because of that other savage usurper[1] who was lying in wait for a favourable opportunity[2] when you should be in difficulties. You therefore made a wise resolve in preferring to achieve success single-handed, and you mounted the platform with him who for the moment was your colleague in empire. He was escorted by a whole host of hoplites with glittering weapons,[3] presenting drawn swords and spears, a sight to make a coward shake with fear, though it inspired and supported one so brave and gallant as yourself. Now when first you began to speak, silence fell on the whole army and every man strained his ears to hear. Many shed tears and raised their hands to heaven, though even this they did in silence, so as to be unobserved. Some again showed their affection in their faces, but all showed it by their intense eagerness to hear your words. When your speech reached its climax, they were carried away by enthusiasm and burst into applause, then eager to miss no word they became quiet again. Finally, won by your arguments, they hailed you as their only Emperor, demanded that you alone should rule the whole empire, and bade you lead them against your adversary, promising to follow you and begging you to take back the imperial insignia. You, however, thought it beneath you to stretch out your hand for them or to take them by force. Then against his will and with reluctance, but

[1] Magnentius. [2] Demosthenes, *De Chersoneso* 42.
[3] Euripides, *Andromache* 1146.

Θετταλικῇ πειθανάγκῃ, προσῆγέ σοι περιελόμενος 3
τὴν ἀλουργίδα. οἷός τις ἐνταῦθα γέγονας τοσούτων μὲν ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ χρημάτων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ γεγονὼς κύριος, τὸν πολέμιον δέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελόμενος καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρατήσας;

Ἆρ᾽ οὐ τούτῳ μὲν ἄμεινον καὶ δικαιότερον προσηνέχθης ἢ Κῦρος τῷ πάππῳ, τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὰς τιμὰς διεφύλαξας οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἀφελόμενος, προσθεὶς δὲ οἶμαι δωρεὰς πολλοῖς; τίς δέ σ᾽[1] B
εἶδεν ἢ πρὸ τοῦ κρατῆσαι σκυθρωπὸν λίαν ἢ μετὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπερηδόμενον; καίτοι πῶς[2] ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν ἐστί σε δημηγόρον ἅμα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα χρηστὸν καὶ γενναῖον ὁπλίτην προσαγορεύοντας; ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἀπορραγὲν τὸ στρατηγεῖον[3] ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐς ταὐτὸν πάλιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἠξίωσας σχῆμα, μιμούμενος οἶμαι Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Νέστορα καὶ τοὺς ἐξελόντας Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαίων στρατη- C
γούς, οἳ φοβερωτέρους αὑτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀεὶ κατέστησαν. Δημοσθένους δὲ καὶ ὅστις τοῦτον ἐζήλωκε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἰσχὺν αἰδούμενος, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δημηγορίας οὔποτ᾽ ἂν ἀξιώσαιμι τῷ[4] σῷ παραβαλεῖν τἀκείνων θέατρα. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἐδημηγόρουν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τοσούτων κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ἢ

[1] σ᾽ Reiske adds. [2] ἴσως Hertlein suggests.
[3] στρατηγεῖον Cobet, Hertlein στρατήγιον MSS.
[4] After τῷ Petavius adds σῷ.

yielding at last to what is called Thessalian persuasion,[1] he took off the purple robe and offered it to you. What a heroic figure yours was then, when, in a single day, you became master of all those races, those legions, all that wealth, when you stripped of his power and took prisoner one who, if not in fact yet in intention, had shown that he was your enemy!

Did you not behave more nobly and more generously to him than Cyrus did to his own grandfather? For you deprived your enemy's followers of nothing, but protected their privileges and, I understand, gave many of them presents besides. Who saw you despondent before your triumph or unduly elated after it? Orator, general, virtuous emperor, distinguished soldier, though men give you all these titles, how can any praise of ours be adequate? Long had the orator's platform been wholly disconnected from the general's functions[2]; and it was reserved for you to combine them once more in your person, in this surely following the example of Odysseus and Nestor and the Roman generals who sacked Carthage; for these men were always even more formidable to wrong-doers whom they attacked from the platform than to the enemy in the field of battle. Indeed I pay all the homage due to the forcible eloquence of Demosthenes and his imitators, but when I consider the conditions of your harangue I can never admit that there is any comparison between your theatre and theirs. For they never had to address an audience of hoplites nor had they such great interests at stake, but only

[1] A proverb for necessity disguised as a choice, cf. 274 C
[2] Aeschines, *Ctesiphon* 74. 18.

τιμῆς ἢ δόξης, ἢ φίλοις συνερεῖν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι,
ἀπῄεσαν οἶμαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, τοῦ D
δήμου θορυβήσαντος, ὠχροὶ καὶ τρέμοντες, ὥσπερ
οἱ δειλοὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ὄψει στρατηγοὶ παρα-
ταττόμενοι. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τοσοῦτον
ἔργον ἑτέρῳ πραχθὲν πώποτε καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν
κτῆσιν ἐκ δικαστηρίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα
τῆς δίκης οὔσης οὐχ, ὡς οἱ πολλοί φασιν, εὐκατα- 35
φρόνητον, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς μὲν στρατείαις γνώριμον,
πρεσβύτην δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τοῦ
χρόνου δοκοῦντα προσειληφέναι καὶ τῶν στρατο-
πέδων ἐκείνων ἄρχειν λαχόντα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον.
τίς οὖν ἡ ῥώμη γέγονε τῶν λόγων; τίς δὲ ἡ πειθὼ
τοῖς χείλεσιν ἐπικαθημένη, ἣ[1] παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων συνειλεγμένων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν
ἰσχύσασα[2] ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ νίκην παρασχεῖν τῷ
μεγέθει μὲν ἐνάμιλλον ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων περι- B
γινομέναις, εὐαγῆ δὲ καὶ καθαράν, ὥσπερ ἱερέως
ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ βασιλέως ἐς πόλεμον,
ἔργον γενομένην; καίτοι γε μὴν ταύτης εἰκόνα τῆς
πράξεως μακρῷ λειπομένην καὶ Πέρσαι θρυλοῦσι,
τοὺς Δαρείου παῖδας τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαφερομένους δίκῃ τὰ καθ᾽
αὑτοὺς καὶ οὐ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιτρέψαι κρίσει.
σοὶ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀγὼν γέγονεν οὐδὲ εἷς· ἔχαιρες C

[1] ἣ Cobet, ἣ Reiske adds, Hertlein.
[2] ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἰσχύσασα Cobet, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἴσχυσε Schaefer, Hertlein, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἰσχύσαι MSS.

money, or honour, or reputation, or friends whom they had undertaken to assist, yet when the citizens clamoured in dissent, they often, I believe, left the platform pale and trembling, like generals who prove to be cowards when they have to face the enemy in battle-line. Indeed from all history it would be impossible to cite an achievement as great as yours when you acquired control of all those races by judicial pleading alone; and moreover you had to make out your case against a man not by any means to be despised, as many people think, but one who had won distinction in many campaigns, who was full of years, who had the reputation of experience gained in a long career, and had for a considerable period been in command of the legions there present. What overwhelming eloquence that must have been! How truly did "persuasion sit on your lips"[1] and had the power to "leave a sting" in the souls of that motley crowd of men, and to win you a victory that in importance rivals any that were ever achieved by force of arms, only that yours was stainless and unalloyed, and was more like the act of a priest going to the temple of his god than of an emperor going to war. It is true indeed that the Persians have a similar instance to quote, but it falls far short of what you did, I mean that on their father's death the sons of Darius quarrelled about the succession to the throne and appealed to justice rather than to arms to arbitrate their case. But between you and your brothers there never arose any dispute, either in word or deed, nay not one, for it was in fact more

[1] From the description of the oratory of Pericles, Eupolis *fr.* 94: *πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν· | οὕτως ἐκήλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων | τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκρυωμένοις.* Cf. 426 B.

δὲ οἶμαι τῷ κοινὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους εἶναί σοι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μόνος ἁπάντων γενέσθαι κύριος· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν ἢ παράνομον οὐδὲν εἰργασμένον, ἄπιστον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα ἐν[1] ἐλέγχοις, οἳ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐκείνου δείξουσι.

Ταύτην ἐκδέχεται στρατεία λαμπρὰ τὴν δημηγορίαν καὶ πόλεμος ἱερός, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἱεροῦ χωρίου, ὁποῖον τὸν Φωκικὸν ἀκούομεν συστῆναι[2] κατὰ
τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς D
πολιτείας καὶ φόνου πολιτῶν μυρίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀνῃρήκει, τοὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε συλλαβεῖν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι δεδιὼς μή τις αὐτὸν πολίτην μοχθηρόν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βάρβαρον ὑπολάβῃ φύσει. τὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν ἀδικήματα οὐδενὸς ὄντα τῶν κοινῇ τολμηθέντων αὐτῷ φαυλότερα καὶ ἐλάττονος ἀξιοῦν ᾤου δεῖν φροντίδος· οὕτω σοι τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἔδοξε καὶ δοκεῖ τίμια.

Πότερον οὖν χρὴ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἁπάντων 34
μεμνῆσθαι ὧν εἴς τε[3] τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἔδρασε, κτείνας μὲν τὸν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ δεσπότην· ἀνδράποδον γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων, τῆς ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν λείας λείψανον δυστυχὲς περισωζόμενον· ἄρχειν δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν, ᾧ μηδὲ ἐλευθέρῳ προσῆκον ἦν νομισθῆναι μὴ τοῦτο παρ'

[1] ἐν Reiske adds, ἐλέγχου σοι V.
[2] συστῆναι Petavius, Cobet, ἐνστῆναι Schaefer, Hertlein, στῆναι MSS.
[3] ὧν εἴς τε Schaefer, ὧν τε εἰς Hertlein, εἰς V, ἐς MSS.

agreeable to you to share the responsibility with them than to be the sole ruler of the world. But your quarrel was with one who, though his actions had not so far been impious or criminal, was shown to have a treasonable purpose, and you brought proofs to make that treason manifest.

After your harangue there followed a brilliant campaign and a war truly sacred, though it was not on behalf of sacred territory, like the Phocian war, which we are told was waged[1] in the days of our ancestors, but was to avenge the laws and the constitution and the slaughter of countless citizens, some of whom the usurper[2] had put to death, while others he was just about to kill or was trying to arrest. It was really as though he was afraid that otherwise he might be considered, for all his vices, a Roman citizen instead of a genuine barbarian. As for his crimes against your house, though they were quite as flagrant as his outrages against the state, you thought it became you to devote less attention to them. So true it is, that, then as now, you rated the common weal higher than your private interests.

I need not mention all the usurper's offences against the community and against individuals. He assassinated his own master. For he had actually been the slave of the murdered emperor's ancestors, a miserable remnant saved from the spoils of Germany. And then he aimed at ruling over us, he who had not even the right to call himself free, had you not granted him the

[1] Demosthenes, *De Corona* 230, a favourite common-place.
[2] Magnentius.

ὑμῶν λαβόντι· καὶ ὡς[1] τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
ξυνδῶν καὶ ἀποκτιννὺς καὶ δουλεύων αἰσχρῶς τῷ
πλήθει καὶ κολακεύων τὴν εὐταξίαν διέφθειρε·
καὶ ὡς τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους ἐτίθει νόμους, τὴν B
ἡμίσειαν εἰσφέρειν, θάνατον ἀπειλῶν τοῖς ἀπει-
θοῦσι, μηνυτὰς δὲ εἶναι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν
οἰκετῶν· καὶ ὅπως ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς οὐδὲν δεομένους
τὰ βασιλικὰ κτήματα πρίασθαι; ἐπιλείψει με
τἀκείνου διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος ἀδικήματα καὶ
τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς καταλαβούσης τὸ μέγεθος.
ἀλλὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἣν
κατέβαλε μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχρήσατο δὲ C
ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἰσχὺν τίς ἂν[2] ἀξίως παραστήσειε;
Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται, ἔθνη καὶ τοῖς πάλαι φανέντα
δυσανταγώνιστα, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιρρεύσαντα
καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἀνυπόστατος Ἰταλοῖς καὶ
Ἰλλυριοῖς, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀψάμενα τῷ
κρατεῖν τοῖς ἐνόπλοις ἀγῶσιν, ἄκοντες[3] ἡμῖν
ὑπήκουσαν, ἔς τε[4] τοὺς καταλόγους τῶν στρατευ-
μάτων ἐγγράφονται καὶ τέλη παρέχονται λαμπρὰ
παρὰ τῶν σῶν προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς κατειλεγμένα·
εἰρήνης δὲ μακρᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐκ ταύτης ἀγαθῶν
ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπιδούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας πρὸς D
πλοῦτον καὶ εὐανδρίαν, καὶ ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς σοῖς
στρατιώτας καταλέξαι πολλοὺς παρέσχοντο,
τέλος δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ βίᾳ καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ πανδημεὶ
συνεστρατεύοντο. ἠκολούθουν δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ
ξυγγενὲς ξύμμαχοι προθυμότατοι Φράγγοι καὶ

[1] ὡς Hertlein adds. [2] ἂν Schaefer adds.
[3] ἄκοντες Reiske, Hertlein, ἁλόντες MSS.
[4] τε Wyttenbach adds.

privilege. Those in command ot the legions he imprisoned and put to death, while to the common soldiers he behaved with such abject servility and deference that he ruined their discipline. Then he enacted those fine laws of his, a property tax of fifty per cent., and threatened the disobedient with death, while any slave who pleased might inform against his master. Then he compelled those who did not want it to purchase the imperial property. But time would fail me were I to tell of all his crimes and of the vast proportions that his tyranny had assumed. As for the armament which he had collected to use against the barbarians but actually employed against us, who could give you an adequate report of its strength? There were Celts and Galatians[1] who had seemed invincible even to our ancestors, and who had so often like a winter torrent that sweeps all before it,[2] poured down on the Italians and Illyrians, and, following up their repeated victories on the field of battle, had even invaded Asia, and then became our subjects because they had no choice. They had been enrolled in the ranks of our armies and furnished levies that won a brilliant reputation, being enlisted by your ancestors, and, later, by your father. Then, since they enjoyed the blessings of long-continued peace, and their country increased in wealth and population, they furnished your brothers with considerable levies, and finally, by compulsion, not choice, they all in a body took part in the usurper's campaign. The most enthusiastic of his followers were, in virtue of their ties of

[1] Gauls. [2] Demosthenes, *De Corona* 153.

Σάξοιες, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον καὶ περὶ[1] τὴν ἑσπερίαν θάλατταν ἐθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα. καὶ πόλις πᾶσα καὶ φρούριον πρόσοικον Ῥήνῳ τῶν 35 ἐνοικούντων φυλάκων ἐξερημωθέντα προδέδοτο μὲν ἀφύλακτα πάντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξεπέμπετο παρεσκευασμένον λαμπρῶς τὸ στράτευμα· πᾶσα δὲ ἐῴκει πόλις Γαλατικὴ στρατοπέδῳ παρασκευαζομένῳ πρὸς πόλεμον· καὶ πάντα ἦν ὅπλων καὶ παρασκευῆς ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν πλήρη. συρρεόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἁπανταχόθεν τῶν B ἐκείνου ξυμμάχων καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα πάλαι κατειλεγμένοις στρατιώταις ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθόντων, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐφάνη τολμηρός, ὃς οὐκ ἔδεισεν οὐδὲ ἐξεπλάγη τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα. σκηπτὸς ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ὁ φερόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄλπεων, σκηπτὸς ἀφόρητος ἔργῳ καὶ ἄρρητος λόγῳ. τοῦτον ἔδεισαν Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Παίονες καὶ Θρᾷκες καὶ Σκύθαι, τοῦτον οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες ἄνθρωποι ἐφ' αὑτοὺς ὡρμῆσθαι πάντως ὑπέλαβον, τούτῳ πολεμήσειν ἤδη περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν καὶ Πέρσαι C παρεσκευάζοντο. ὁ δὲ μικρὰ μὲν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὰ παρόντα καὶ πόνον οὐ πολὺν τῆς σῆς συνέσεως καὶ ῥώμης κρατῆσαι, τοὺς Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐσκόπει πλούτους καὶ Περσῶν τὴν πολυτέλειαν· τοσοῦτον[2] αὐτῷ περιῆν ἀνοίας καὶ θράσους ἐκ μικροῦ παντελῶς περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους πλεονεκτήματος, οὓς ἀφυλάκτους ὅλῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ λοχήσας ἔκτεινεν. οὕτω τὸ πράττειν εὖ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀρχὴ πολλάκις γέγονε τοῖς ἀνοήτοις μειζόνων συμφορῶν.

[1] περὶ Hertlein suggests.
[2] [καὶ] τοσοῦτον Hertlein.

kinship, the Franks and Saxons, the most warlike of the tribes who live beyond the Rhine and on the shores of the western sea. And since every city and every fortified place on the banks of the Rhine was shorn of its garrison, that whole region was left with no defence against the barbarians, and all that splendidly organised army was despatched against us. Every town in Galatia[1] was like a camp preparing for war. Nothing was to be seen but weapons of war and forces of cavalry, infantry, archers, and javelin men. When these allies of the usurper began to pour into Italy from all quarters and there joined the troops who had been enrolled long before, there was no one so bold as not to feel terror and dismay at the tempest that threatened.[2] It seemed to all as though a thunderbolt had fallen from the Alps, a bolt that no action could avert, no words describe. It struck terror into the Illyrians, the Paeonians, the Thracians, the Scythians; the dwellers in Asia believed it was directed entirely against themselves, and even the Persians began to get ready to oppose it in their country's defence. But the usurper thought his task was easy, and that he would have little difficulty in baffling your wisdom and energy, and already fixed his covetous gaze on the wealth of India and the magnificence of Persia. To such an excess of folly and rashness had he come, and after a success wholly insignificant, I mean the affair of the scouts whom, while they were unprotected by the main army, he ambushed and cut in pieces. So true it is that when fools meet with undeserved success[3] they often find it is but the prelude to greater misfortunes. And so, elated by

[1] Gaul. [2] 351 A.D. [2] Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 1. 23.

ἀρθεὶς γὰρ ὁ δείλαιος ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ταύτης D
μετέωρος κατέλιπε μὲν τὰ προκείμενα τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἐρυμνὰ χωρία, ἐς Νωρικοὺς δὲ καὶ Παίονας ἀφυ-
λάκτως ᾔει, δεῖν αὐτῷ τάχους, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπλων
οὐδὲ ἀνδρείας οἰόμενος.

Ὃ δὴ καταμαθὼν ἐπανῆγες ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν
τὸ στράτευμα, εἵπετο δὲ ἐκεῖνος, διώκειν, οὐχὶ
δὲ καταστρατηγεῖσθαι νομίσας, ἕως εἰς τὴν
εὐρυχωρίαν ἄμφω κατέστητε. τῶν πεδίων δὲ
τῶν πρὸ τῆς Μύρσης ὀφθέντων, ἐτάττοντο 36
μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως[1] ἱππεῖς ἑκατέρου πεζοί τε
ἐν μέσῳ· ἔχων δὲ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν
ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῷ λαιῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερ-
βαλλόμενος ἐτρέψω μὲν εὐθέως καὶ διέλυσας
τὴν φάλαγγα οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν συγκειμένην ὀρθῶς,
ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἀπείρου πολέμων καὶ στρατηγίας
αὐτὴν κοσμήσαντος. ὁ δὲ τέως διώκειν ὑπο-
λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικόμενος, ἔφευγε B
καρτερῶς ἐκπλαγεὶς τὸν κτύπον τῶν ὅπλων, οὐδὲ
τὸν ἐνυάλιον παιᾶνα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπαλαλα-
ζόντων ἀδεῶς ἀκούων. διαλυθείσης δὲ οἱ στρα-
τιῶται τῆς τάξεως συνιστάμενοι κατὰ λόχους
πάλιν τὸν ἀγῶνα συνέβαλον, αἰσχυνόμενοι μὲν
ὀφθῆναι φεύγοντες καὶ τὸ τέως ἄπιστον ἅπασιν
ἀνθρώποις ἐφ' αὐτῶν δεῖξαι συμβαῖνον, στρατιώ-
την Κελτόν, στρατιώτην ἐκ Γαλατίας τὰ νῶτα
τοῖς πολεμίοις δείξαντα. οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τὴν C
ἐπάνοδον ἀπεγνωκότες, εἰ πταίσειαν, ἢ κρατεῖν
ἢ θνήσκειν δράσαντές τι δεινὸν τοὺς πολεμίους
ἠξίουν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ξὺν τῷ τυράννῳ τοσοῦτον πε-

[1] ἐπὶ κέρως Wyttenbach, Hertlein, ἐπικαίρως MSS.

this stroke of luck, he left the fortified posts that protected the Italian frontier, and marched towards the Norici and the Paeonians, taking no precautions, because he thought that speed would serve him better than force of arms or courage.

The moment that you learned this, you led your army out of the narrow and dangerous passes, and he followed in pursuit, as he thought, unaware that he was being outgeneralled, until you both reached open country. When the plains before Myrsa[1] were in sight, the cavalry of both armies were drawn up on the wings, while the infantry formed the centre. Then your Majesty kept the river on your right, and, outflanking the enemy with your left, you at once turned and broke his phalanx, which indeed had from the first the wrong formation, since it had been drawn up by one who knew nothing of war or strategy. Then he who so far had thought he was the pursuer did not even join battle, but took to headlong flight, dismayed by the clash of weapons; he could not even listen without trembling when the legions shouted their battle-song. His ranks had been thrown into disorder, but the soldiers formed into companies and renewed the battle. For they disdained to be seen in flight, and to give an example in their own persons of what had hitherto been inconceivable to all men, I mean a Celtic or Galatian[2] soldier turning his back to the enemy. The barbarians too, who, if defeated, could not hope to make good their retreat, were resolved either to conquer, or not to perish till they had severely punished their opponents. Just see the extraordinary daring

[1] In Pannonia 353 A.D. [2] Gallic.

ριῆν θράσους[1] πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε
πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ὅλων κρατήσαντες, αἰδούμενοι μὲν
ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, παροξυνόμενοι δὲ
ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι κατορθωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν
χερσὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ τέως ἀπίστων ἔργων, τέλος
ἄξιον τοῖς προϋπηργμένοις ἐπιθεῖναι φιλο- D
τιμούμενοι πάντα ὑπέμενον ἡδέως πόνον καὶ
κίνδυνον. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄρτι τῆς παρατάξεως
ἀρχομένης, συνιόντες πάλιν ἔργα τόλμης ἀπε-
δείκνυντο καὶ θυμοῦ γενναῖα, οἱ μὲν ὠθούμενοι
περὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ λαμβανόμενοι τῶν
ἀσπίδων, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὁπόσους ἵπποι τρωθέντες
ἀπεσείοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο.
ταῦτα ἔδρων οἱ ξὺν τῷ τυράννῳ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐπι-
βρίσαντες· καὶ ἦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξ ἴσης, ἕως οἱ
θωρακοφόροι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος, 37
οἱ μὲν ἐκ τόξων βάλλοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπελαύνοντες
τοὺς ἵππους, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινον, ἐδίωκον δὲ
ἅπαντας καρτερῶς, τινὰς μὲν πρὸς τὸ πεδίον
ὡρμηκότας φεύγειν, ὧν ἡ νὺξ ὀλίγους ἀπέσωσε
μόλις, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατηνέχθη,
καθάπερ βοῶν ἢ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλη συνελαυνό-
μενοι. τοσαῦτα ἐκεῖνο τὸ στράτευμα τῆς τοῦ
τυράννου δειλίας, οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνον ὀνῆσαν ἐκ τῆς
ἀνδρείας τῆς αὑτοῦ, μάτην ἀπέλαυσε. B

Τρόπαιον δὲ ἀνέστησας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοῦ πατρῴου
λαμπρότερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τέως ἀμάχους

[1] θράσους Wyttenbach, Cobet, θράσος MSS, Hertlein. πρὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ Hertlein suggests, καὶ πρὸς . . . τοῦ MSS.

of the usurper's troops in the face of dangers and their great eagerness to come to close quarters!

Our men, on the other hand, had so far carried all before them and were anxious to retain the good opinion of their comrades and of the Emperor, and were moreover stimulated by their successes in the past and by the almost incredible brilliance of their exploits in this very engagement, and, ambitious as they were to end the day as gloriously as they had begun it, cheerfully encountered toil and danger. So they charged again as though the battle had only just begun, and gave a wonderful display of daring and heroism. For some hurled themselves full on the enemy's swords, or seized the enemy's shields, others, when their horses were wounded and the riders thrown, at once transformed themselves into hoplites. The usurper's army meanwhile did the same and pressed our infantry hard. Neither side gained the advantage, till the cuirassiers by their archery, aided by the remaining force of cavalry, who spurred on their horses to the charge, had begun to inflict great loss on the enemy, and by main force to drive the whole army before them. Some directed their flight to the plain, and of these a few were saved just in time by the approach of night. The rest were flung into the river, crowded together like a herd of oxen or brute beasts. Thus did the usurper's army reap the fruits of his cowardice, while their valour availed him nothing.

The trophy that you set up for that victory was far more brilliant than your father's. He led an

δοκοῦντας ἄγων ἐκράτει γέροντος δυστυχοῦς· σὺ δὲ ἡβῶσαν καὶ ἀκμάζουσαν οὐ τοῖς κακοῖς μόνον οἷς ἔδρα, τῇ νεότητι δὲ πλέον, τὴν τυραννίδα παρεστήσω, τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ παρασκευασθεῖσι στρατοπέδοις παραταξάμενος. τίς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχει τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων ἱππικὴν δύναμιν καὶ σκευὴν τῶν ὅπλων τοιαύτην ἐπινοήσαντα καὶ μιμησάμενον; C
ἢ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐγγυμνασάμενος διδάσκαλος ἐγένου τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπλων χρήσεως ἀμάχου. ὑπὲρ ἧς εἰπεῖν τολμήσαντες πολλοὶ τῆς ἀξίας διήμαρτον, ὥσθ' ὅσοι τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες ὕστερον ἰδεῖν ηὐτύχησαν τὰς ἀκοὰς σαφῶς ἀπιστοτέρας ἔγνωσαν εἶναι τῶν ὀμμάτων. ἄπειρον γὰρ ἦγες[1] ἱππέων πλῆθος, καθάπερ ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχουμένους, οἷς συνήρμοστο τὰ μέλη κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων D
καρπῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἐκ[2] τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὰ νῶτα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦν ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ κνῆμαι καὶ μηροὶ μηδὲ ἄκροι πόδες τῆς σκευῆς ταύτης ἔρημοι λείπονται. συναρμοζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς θώραξι διά τινων ἐκ κρίκου λεπτοῦ πεποιημένων οἱονεὶ ὑφασμάτων οὐδὲν ἂν ὀφθείη τοῦ σώματος γυμνὸν μέρος, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι τούτοις σκεπομένων πρὸς τὸ καὶ 38
καμπτομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς δακτύλοις. ταῦτα

[1] ἦγες V, Hertlein, εἶχες MSS. [2] ἐκ Reiske adds.

army that had always proved itself invincible, and with it conquered a miserable old man.[1] But the tyranny that you suppressed was flourishing and had reached its height, partly through the crimes that had been committed, but still more because so many of the youth were on that side, and you took the field against it with legions that had been trained by yourself. What emperor can one cite in the past who first planned and then reproduced so admirable a type of cavalry, and such accoutrements? First you trained yourself to wear them, and then you taught others how to use such weapons so that none could withstand them. This is a subject on which many have ventured to speak, but they have failed to do it justice, so much so that those who heard their description, and later had the good fortune to see for themselves, decided that their eyes must accept what their ears had refused to credit. Your cavalry was almost unlimited in numbers and they all sat their horses like statues, while their limbs were fitted with armour that followed closely the outline of the human form. It covers the arms from wrist to elbow and thence to the shoulder, while a coat of mail protects the shoulders, back and breast. The head and face are covered by a metal mask which makes its wearer look like a glittering statue, for not even the thighs and legs and the very ends of the feet lack this armour. It is attached to the cuirass by fine chain-armour like a web, so that no part of the body is visible and uncovered, for this woven covering protects the hands as well, and is so flexible that the wearers can bend even their fingers.[2] All this I desire to represent in words as vividly as

[1] Licinius. [2] cf. *Oration* 2. 57 C.

ὁ λόγος παραστῆσαι μὲν σαφῶς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἀπολειπόμενος δὲ θεατὰς τῶν ὅπλων τοὺς μαθεῖν τι πλέον ἐθέλοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκροατὰς τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διηγήσεως ἀξιοῖ γενέσθαι.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον διεληλύθαμεν, ληγούσης ἤδη τῆς ὀπώρας, ἆρ' ἐνταῦθα τὴν B
διήγησιν πάλιν ἀφήσομεν; ἢ πάντως τὸ τέλος ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ποθοῦσιν[1] ἄξιον; ἐπέλαβε μὲν ὁ χειμὼν καὶ παρέσχε διαφυγεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν τὸν τύραννον. κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν λαμπρὰ καὶ βασιλικῆς ἄξια μεγαλοψυχίας· ἄδεια δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ταξαμένοις μετὰ τοῦ τυράννου, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀνοσίων ἐκείνῳ φόνων ἐκοινώνει· ἀπελάμβανον τὰς οἰκίας ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πατρίδας οἱ μηδὲ ὄψεσθαί τι τῶν φιλτάτων αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζοντες. ὑπεδέχου τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς C
Ἰταλίας ἐπανερχόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐκεῖθεν πολίτας κατάγον φεύγοντας οἶμαι τὴν τῶν τυράννων ὠμότητα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει στρατεύεσθαι, πάλιν ἐφειστήκεις δεινὸς τῷ τυράννῳ. ὁ δὲ προυβάλλετο τὰς Ἰταλῶν δυσχωρίας, καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ἐκεῖ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐναποκρύψας τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτὸς οὐδὲ ὑπαίθριος ἐτόλμα στρατεύειν. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ αὑτὸν εἰς τὴν πλησίον πόλιν D
τρυφῶσαν καὶ πολυτελῆ, ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ τρυφαῖς ἔτριβε τὸν χρόνον, ἀρκέσειν μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὀρῶν τὴν δυσχωρίαν μόνον οἰόμενος. ἀκόλαστος δὲ ὢν φύσει κερδαίνειν ᾤετο τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐν τοσούτοις κακοῖς,

[1] τοῖς ποθοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ποθοῦσιν MSS.

I can, but it is beyond my powers, and I can only ask those who wish to know more about this armour to see it with their own eyes, and not merely to listen to my description.

Now that I have told the story of this first campaign, which was fought at the end of the autumn, shall I here break off my narrative? Or is it altogether unfair to withhold the end and issue of your achievements from those who are eager to hear? Winter overtook us and gave the usurper a chance to escape punishment. Then followed a splendid proclamation worthy of your imperial generosity. An amnesty was granted to those who had taken sides with the usurper, except when they had shared the guilt of those infamous murders. Thus they who had never hoped even to see again anything that they held dear, recovered their houses, money, and native land. Then you welcomed the fleet which arrived from Italy bringing thence many citizens who, no doubt, had fled from the usurper's savage cruelty. Then when the occasion demanded that you should take the field, you again menaced the usurper. He however took cover in the fastnesses of Italy and hid his army away there in the mountains, wild-beast fashion, and never even dared to carry on the war beneath the open heavens. But he betook himself to the neighbouring town[1] which is devoted to pleasure and high living, and spent his time in public shows and sensual pleasures, believing that the impassable mountains alone would suffice for his safety. Moreover, intemperate as he was by nature, he thought it clear gain to be able to indulge his appetites at so dangerous a crisis, and

[1] Aquileia.

δῆλός τε ἦν λίαν πεπιστευκὼς ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντα ἔχειν, ἀποτειχιζομένης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας τοῖς ὄρεσι, πλὴν ὅσον ἐξ ἡμισείας ἡ 3
θάλασσα τεναγώδης οὖσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἕλεσιν ἐμφερὴς ἄβατον καὶ νηίτῃ στρατῷ πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καθίστησιν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν οὐδὲ ἓν ἡ φύσις πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην τοῖς ἀκολάστοις καὶ δειλοῖς ἔρυμα μηχανήσασθαι, πάντα ὑποχωρεῖν φρονήσει μετὰ ἀνδρείας ἐπιούσῃ παρασκευάζουσα· πάλαι τε ἡμῖν ἐξηῦρε τὰς τέχνας, δι' ὧν εἰς εὐπορίαν τῶν τέως δοξάντων B
ἀπόρων κατέστημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργων τὸ πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαινόμενον[1] ἐπιτελούμενον πρὸς ἀνδρὸς σώφρονος. ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε τοῖς ἔργοις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δείξας εἰκότως ἂν ἀποδέχοιο τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγους.

Ἐστράτευες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπαίθριος, καὶ ταῦτα πλησίον παρούσης πόλεως οὐ φαύλης, τοῖς στρατευομένοις δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος τὸ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἐξ ὧν δὲ αὐτὸς ἔδρας παρεγγυῶν· ἄτραπον μὲν ἐξηῦρες ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσι, πέμψας δὲ ἀξιόμαχον τῆς δυνάμεως ἁπάσης ὁπλιτῶν C
μοῖραν, εἶτα ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἔγνως αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφεστῶτας, αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἦγες τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κύκλῳ περιέχων πάντων ἐκράτησας. ταῦτα ἐδρᾶτο πρὸ τῆς ἕω, ἤγγελτο δὲ πρὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ τυράννῳ ἁμίλλαις ἱππικαῖς καὶ

[1] After φαινόμενον Reiske thinks ἐπέδειξε has fallen out.

he evidently placed too much confidence in the safety of his position, because the town is cut off from that part of Italy by a natural rampart of mountains, except the half that is bounded by a shoaling sea, which resembles the marshes of Egypt and makes that part of the country inaccessible even to an invading fleet. It seems however as though nature herself will not devise any safeguard for the sensual and cowardly against the temperate and brave, for when prudence and courage advance hand in hand she makes everything give way before them. Long since she revealed to us those arts through which we have attained an abundance of what was once thought to be unattainable, and in the field of individual effort we see that what seemed impossible for many working together to achieve can be accomplished by a prudent man. And since by your own actions you demonstrated this fact it is only fair, O my Emperor, that you should accept my words to that effect.

For you conducted the campaign under the open skies, and that though there was a city of some importance near at hand, and moreover you encouraged your men to work hard and to take risks, not merely by giving orders, but by your own personal example. You discovered a path hitherto unknown to all, and you sent forward a strong detachment of hoplites chosen from your whole army; then when you had ascertained that they had come up with the enemy, you led forward your army in person, surrounded them, and defeated his whole force. This happened before dawn, and before noon the news was brought to the usurper. He was attend-

πανηγύρει προσκαθημένῳ καὶ τῶν παρόντων οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντι. τίς μὲν οὖν γέγονεν ἐκ τίνος, καὶ D
ποταπὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ ὅπως ἐκλιπὼν ἔφυγε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν, τοὺς φόνους καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἀδικίας ἐκκαθαιρόμενος, οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἂν εἴη λόγου διηγεῖσθαι. ἔμελλε δὲ βραχείας ἀνοκωχῆς τυχὼν οὐδέν τι μεῖον τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δράσειν. οὕτως οὐδὲν πρὸς πονηρίαν ψυχῆς ἄνθρωπος ἀνόσιος[1] ἐξηῦρε καθάρσιον διὰ τοῦ σώματος. ἀφικόμενος γὰρ εἰς Γαλατίαν ὁ χρηστὸς οὑτοσὶ καὶ νόμιμος ἄρχων τοσοῦτον αὑτοῦ γέγονε χαλεπώτερος, 40
ὡς, εἴ τις πρότερον αὐτὸν διαφυγὼν ἐλελήθει τιμωρίας τρόπος ὠμότατος, τοῦτον ἐξευρὼν θέαμα κεχαρισμένον αὑτῷ τὰς τῶν ἀθλίων πολιτῶν παρεῖχε συμφοράς· ἅρματος ζῶντας ἐκδήσας καὶ μεθεὶς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις ἕλκειν ἂν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς ἐφεστηκὼς καὶ θεώμενος τὰ δρώμενα· καί τισι τοιούτοις ἑτέροις αὑτὸν ψυχαγωγῶν τὸν πάντα διετέλει χρόνον, ἕως αὐτὸν καθάπερ Ὀλυμπιονίκης περὶ τῷ τρίτῳ B
παλαίσματι καταβαλὼν δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι τῶν τετολμημένων ἀξίαν κατηνάγκασας ὤσαντα διὰ τῶν στέρνων τὸ αὐτὸ ξίφος, ὃ πολλῶν πολιτῶν ἐμίανε φόνῳ. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς νίκης[2] ἀμείνω καὶ δικαιοτέραν οὔποτε γενέσθαι φημὶ οὐδὲ ἐφ' ᾗ μᾶλλον τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ηὐφράνθη γένος, τοσαύτης ὠμότητος καὶ πικρίας ἀφεθὲν ὄντως ἐλεύθερον, εὐνομίᾳ δὲ ἤδη γανύμενον, ἧς τέως

[1] ἀνόσιος Cobet, ἀλλ' οὐ θεὸς V, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς MSS.
[2] νίκης MSS, Cobet, δίκης M, Hertlein.

ing a horse-race at a festival, and was expecting nothing of what took place. How his attitude changed, what was his decision about the crisis, how he abandoned the town and in fact all Italy, and fled, thus beginning to expiate his murders and all his earlier crimes, it is not for this speech to relate. Yet though the respite he gained was so brief, he proceeded to act no less wickedly than in the past. So true is it that by the sufferings of the body alone it is impossible for the wicked to cleanse their souls of evil. For when he reached Galatia,[1] this ruler who was so righteous and law-abiding, so far surpassed his own former cruelty that he now bethought himself of all the ruthless and brutal modes of punishment that he had then overlooked, and derived the most exquisite pleasure from the spectacle of the sufferings of the wretched citizens. He would bind them alive to chariots and, letting the teams gallop, would order the drivers to drag them along while he stood by and gazed at their sufferings. In fact he spent his whole time in amusements of this sort, until, like an Olympic victor, you threw him in the third encounter[2] and forced him to pay a fitting penalty for his infamous career, namely to thrust into his own breast that very sword which he had stained with the slaughter of so many citizens.[3] Never, in my opinion, was there a punishment more suitable or more just than this, nor one that gave greater satisfaction to the whole human race, which was now really liberated from such cruelty and harshness, and at once began to exult in the good government that we enjoy to this day.

[1] Gaul.

[2] In wrestling, the third fall secured the victory. Cf. *Or.* 2. 74 C.

[3] 355 A.D.

ἀπολαύομεν καὶ ἀπολαύσαιμέν γε ἐπὶ πλέον, ὦ C
πάντα ἀγαθὴ πρόνοια.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ποθοῦντι μὲν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἅπασι τοῖς σοι πραχθεῖσιν, ἀπολειπομένῳ δὲ συγγνώμην εἰκότως, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, παρέξεις, εἰ μήτε τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα μνημονεύοιμι ἀπό τε Αἰγύπτου παρασκευασθέντων καὶ ἐξ[1] Ἰταλίας ἐπ᾿ αὐτὴν πλευσάντων, μήτε ὡς τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν ἐκράτησας ναυσὶν ἐκπέμψας ἐπ᾿ αὐτὰ στράτευμα, μήτε τῶν ἔναγχός σοι πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους D
πραχθέντων, μήτ᾿ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον τῶν πάλαι γεγονὸς λέληθε τοὺς πολλούς. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἑαυτὴν σοῦ[2] ἐπώνυμον ἐπονομάζουσαν ἀκούω πολλάκις. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, πλουτεῖ δὲ ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν εὐπορίαν ἐπιδέδωκε διὰ σὲ λιμένας εὐόρμους τοῖς καταίρουσι παρασχόντα· τέως δὲ οὐδὲ παραπλεῖν ἀσφαλὲς οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον ἐδόκει· οὕτως ἦν πάντα 41
σκοπέλων τινῶν καὶ πετρῶν ὑφάλων ἀνάπλεα τῆς θαλάσσης τῆσδε πρὸς ταῖς ᾐόσι. στοὰς δὲ καὶ κρήνας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων διὰ σὲ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ὀνομάζειν ἄξιον. ὁπόσα δὲ τῇ πατρῴᾳ πόλει προστέθεικας, τεῖχος μὲν αὐτῇ κύκλῳ περιβαλὼν ἀρξάμενον τότε, τὰ δοκοῦντα δὲ οὐκ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν[3] τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων εἰς ἀθάνατον ἀσφάλειαν κατατιθείς, τίς ἂν ἀπαριθμήσαιτο; ἐπιλείψει με τούτων ἕκαστον ὁ χρόνος B
διηγούμενον.

[1] ἐξ Reiske, τῶν ἐξ MSS.

[2] πόλιν ἑαυτὴν σοῦ Wyttenbach, ἐπώνυμόν σοι ἑαυτὴν Reiske, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον MSS, Hertlein.

[3] ἔχειν Hertlein suggests.

Long may we continue to enjoy it, O all-merciful Providence!

I would fain recite every single one of your achievements, but you will with reason pardon me, most mighty Emperor, if I fall short of that ambition and omit to mention the naval armament against Carthage which was equipped in Egypt and set sail from Italy to attack her, and also your conquest of the Pyrenees, against which you sent an army by sea, and your successes against the barbarians, which of late have been so frequent, and all such successes in the past as have not become a matter of common knowledge. For example, I often hear that even Antioch now calls herself by your name. Her existence she does indeed owe to her founder,[1] but her present wealth and increase in every sort of abundance she owes to you, since you provided her with harbours that offer good anchorage for those who put in there. For till then it was considered a dangerous risk even to sail past Antioch; so full were all the waters of that coast, up to the very shores, of rocks and sunken reefs. I need not stop to mention the porticoes, fountains, and other things of the kind that you caused to be bestowed on Antioch by her governors. As to your benefactions to the city of your ancestors,[2] you built round it a wall that was then only begun, and all buildings that seemed to be unsound you restored and made safe for all time. But how could one reckon up all these things? Time will fail me if I try to tell everything separately.

[1] Seleucus son of Antiochus. [2] Constantinople.

Σκοπεῖν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἄξιον ἤδη τῶν ῥηθέντων, εἰ μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς βελτίστης ἕξεως ἅπαντα γέγονε· τούτῳ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀρχόμενος μάλιστα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἠξίουν. οὐκοῦν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὅπως προσηνέχθης, ὁμονοῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διετέλεσας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἀρχόμενος μὲν προθύμως, συνάρχων δὲ ἐκείνοις σωφρόνως, πάλαι C τε εἴρηται καὶ νῦν ἀξιούσθω μνήμης. τοῦτο δὲ ὅστις μικρᾶς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπέλαβεν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Κῦρον τὸν Καμβύσου σκοπῶν ἐπαινείτω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μειράκιον ἔτι κομιδῇ νέον δῆλος ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενος ἄρχοντος, ὁ δὲ ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν πάππον. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδείς ἐστιν οὕτως[1] ἠλίθιος, ὅστις οὐκ οἴεταί σε,[2] μηδὲν ἐκείνων μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ φιλοτιμίᾳ λειπόμενον, οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ σωφρόνως τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς προσενηνέχθαι. D παρασχούσης γὰρ τῆς τύχης τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς ἁπάντων ἡγεμονίας ἐχρῆν μεταποιηθῆναι, πρῶτος ὡρμήθης, πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ πρὸς τἀναντία ξυμπείθειν ἐπιχειρούντων· ῥᾷστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον διοικησάμενος ἐλευθεροῦν ἔγνως τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ κατειλημμένα, δικαιοτάτην μὲν καὶ οἵαν οὔπω πρόσθεν ἔλαβε 42 πρόφασιν πόλεμος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχθρας

[1] οὕτως Reiske adds. [2] σε Reiske adds.

The time has now come when it is proper to consider whether your career, so far as I have described it, is at every point in harmony with virtue and the promptings of a noble disposition. For to this, as I said at the beginning of my speech, I think it right to pay special attention. Let me therefore mention once more what I said some time ago, that to your father you were dutiful and affectionate, and that you constantly maintained friendly relations with your brothers, for your father you were ever willing to obey, and as the colleague of your brothers in the empire you always displayed moderation. And if anyone thinks this a trifling proof of merit, let him consider the case of Alexander the son of Philip, and Cyrus the son of Cambyses, and then let him applaud your conduct. For Alexander, while still a mere boy, showed clearly that he would no longer brook his father's control, while Cyrus dethroned his grandfather. Yet no one is so foolish as to suppose that, since you displayed such modesty and self-control towards your father and brothers, you were not fully equal to Alexander and Cyrus in greatness of soul and ambition for glory. For when fortune offered you the opportunity to claim as your right the empire of the world, you were the first to make the essay, though there were many who advised otherwise and tried to persuade you to the contrary course. Accordingly, when you had carried through the war that you had in hand, and that with the utmost ease and so as to ensure safety for the future, you resolved to liberate that part of the empire which had been occupied by the enemy, and the reason that you assigned for going to war was most

τιθέμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄξιον προσαγορεύειν τὸν πόλεμον, οὗ βάρβαρος ἦν ἡγεμὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσας βασιλέα καὶ χειροτονήσας στρατηγόν. τῶν ἀδικημάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ ὧν ἔδρασεν εἰς οἰκίαν τὴν σὴν οὐχ ἡδύ μοι πολλάκις μεμνῆσθαι. ἀνδρειοτέραν δὲ τῆσδε τῆς πράξεως τίς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι; ἐφ' ἧς δῆλος μὲν ἦν ἀποτυχόντι τῶν ἔργων ὁ[1] κίνδυνος· ὑπέμενες B δὲ οὐδὲν κέρδους χάριν οὐδὲ κλέος ἀείμνηστον ἀντωνούμενος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ πολλάκις τολμῶσιν, οἷον πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν δόξαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποδιδόμενοι, οὐδὲ μὴν δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρχῆς μείζονος καὶ λαμπροτέρας, ὅτι μηδὲ νέῳ σοι τούτων ἐπιθυμῆσαι συνέβη, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν στέργων τῆς πράξεως πάντα ὑπομένειν ᾤου δεῖν πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ῥωμαίων βάρβαρον βασιλεύοντα καὶ νόμων κύριον καὶ πολιτείας καθεστῶτα καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν C εὐχὰς ποιούμενον τὸν τοσούτοις ἀσεβήμασιν ἔνοχον καὶ φόνοις. τῆς παρασκευῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ λαμπρότης καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος τίνα οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἐκπλῆξαι; καίτοι Ξέρξην μὲν ἀκούω τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξαναστήσαντα χρόνον ἐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δέκα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, εἶτα ἐπαγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς χιλίαις τριήρεσι διακοσίας ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν χωρίων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν D οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυπηγησάμενος ἤγειρας τὸν στόλον, πλήθει νεῶν ἐκεῖνον ὑπερβαλλόμενος· τῇ τύχῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις.

[1] Hertlein suggests ὁ.

just and such as had never before arisen, namely your detestation of those infamous men. Civil war one could not call it, for its leader was a barbarian who had proclaimed himself emperor and elected himself general. I dislike to speak too often of his evil deeds and the crimes that he committed against your house. But could anything be more heroic than your line of action? For should you fail in your undertaking the risk involved was obvious. But you faced it, and you were not bidding for gain, nay nor for undying renown, for whose sake brave men so often dare even to die, selling their lives for glory as though it were gold, nor was it from desire of wider or more brilliant empire, for not even in your youth were you ambitious of that, but it was because you were in love with the abstract beauty of such an achievement, and thought it your duty to endure anything rather than see a barbarian ruling over Roman citizens, making himself master of the laws and constitution and offering public prayers for the common weal, guilty as he was of so many impious crimes and murders. Who could fail to be dazzled by the splendour of your armament and the vast scale of your expenditure? And yet I am told that Xerxes, when he mustered all Asia against the Greeks, spent no less than ten years in preparing for that war. Then he set out with twelve hundred triremes, from the very spot, as I understand, where you gathered your fleet together, having built it in rather less than ten months, and yet you had more ships than Xerxes. But neither his fortune nor his achievements can properly be compared with yours.

Τὴν δὲ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ δαπανήματα μεγαλοπρέπειαν μὴ πολὺ λίαν ἔργον ᾖ φράζειν, οὐδὲ ὁπόσα ταῖς πόλεσι πάλαι στερομέναις ἀπεδίδους ἀπαριθμούμενος ἐνοχλήσω τὰ νῦν. πλουτοῦσι μὲν γὰρ 43
ἅπασαι διὰ σὲ ἐπὶ τῶν[1] ἔμπροσθεν ἐνδεεῖς οὖσαι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος οἴκων διὰ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν πόλεων εὐετηρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἄξιον δωρεῶν μεμνῆσθαι, ἐλευθέριόν σε καὶ μεγαλόδωρον βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντα, ὃς πολλοῖς μὲν στερομένοις πάλαι τῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων, τοῦ πατρῴου κλήρου συμφορᾷ περιπεπτωκότος ἐν δίκῃ καὶ παρὰ δίκην, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐγένου κύριος, τοῖς μὲν καθάπερ δικαστὴς ἀγαθὸς τὰ τῶν B
ἔμπροσθεν ἁμαρτήματα διορθωσάμενος κυρίους εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας παρέσχες, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιεικὴς κριτὴς γενόμενος ταῦτα μὲν ὧν ἀφῄρηντο πάλιν ἐχαρίσω, ἀρκεῖν οἰόμενος τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς τιμωρίαν τοῖς παθοῦσιν· ὅσα δὲ αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν χαριζόμενος πλουσιωτέρους ἀπέφηνας πολλοὺς τῶν πάλαι δοξάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίᾳ σεμνύνεσθαι, τί χρὴ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκοντα C
περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν δοκεῖν; ἄλλως τε καὶ πᾶσιν ὄντος καταφανοῦς, ὅτι μηδεὶς πώποτε πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου τοσαῦτα βασιλεὺς τοῖς αὑτοῦ φίλοις διανέμων ὤφθη. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὁ τῶν φίλων πλοῦτος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμης ὕποπτος ἐφάνη μᾶλλον καὶ φοβερώτερος, ἄλλοι

[1] ἐπὶ τῶν Cobet, διὰ τῶν Wyttenbach, Hertlein, τῶν V, τὸν MSS.

I fear that it is beyond my powers to describe the magnificence of your outlay for other purposes, nor will I risk being tedious by staying now to count up the sums you bestowed on cities that had long been destitute. For whereas, in the time of your predecessors, they lacked the necessaries of life, they have all become rich through you, and the general prosperity of each city increases the welfare of every private household in it. But it is proper that I should mention your gifts to private persons, and give you the title of a generous and open-handed Emperor; for since there were many who long ago had lost their property, because, in some cases justly, in others unjustly, their ancestral estates had suffered loss, you had no sooner come into power, than like a just judge you set right in the latter cases the errors committed by men in the past, and restored them to the control of their property, while in the former cases you were a kindly arbiter, and granted that they should recover what they had lost, thinking that to have suffered so long was punishment enough. Then you lavished large sums from your privy purse, and increased the reputation for wealth of many who even in the past had prided themselves on their large incomes. But why should I remind you of all this and seem to waste time over trifles? Especially as it must be obvious to all that no king except Alexander the son of Philip was ever known to bestow such splendid presents on his friends. Indeed some kings have thought that the wealth of their friends gave more grounds for suspicion and alarm

δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐγένειαν ὑπιδόμενοι
πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας προπηλακίζοντες
ἢ καὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἄρδην τὰς οἰκίας κοινῇ μὲν ταῖς D
πόλεσι συμφορῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνοσίων ἔργων
αἰτιώτατοι κατέστησαν. οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο δὲ ἤδη
τινὲς τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθοῖς, ὑγιείᾳ φημὶ καὶ
κάλλει καὶ εὐεξίᾳ, βασκαίνοντες· ψυχῆς τε ἀρετὴν
ἔν τινι τῶν πολιτῶν γενομένην οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ὑπέ-
μενον, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀδίκημα τοῦτο, καθάπερ ἀνδροφονία
καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ προδοσία, τὸ δοκεῖν ἀρετῆς μετα-
ποιηθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα τυχὸν ἀληθῶς οὐ βασιλέων 4
φήσει τις, πονηρῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνελευθέρων τυράννων
ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἤδη τὸ πάθος
οὐ τῶν ἀνοήτων μόνον, ἀλλά τινων ἐπιεικῶν
καὶ πρᾴων ἀνδρῶν ἁψάμενον, τὸ τοῖς φίλοις
ἄχθεσθαι πλέον ἔχουσι[1] καὶ πολλάκις ἐλαττοῦν
ἐθέλειν καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι,
τίς ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐτόλμησε; τοῦτο καὶ Κῦρόν
φασι τὸν Πέρσην γάμβρον ὄντα βασιλέως παρὰ
τοῦ κηδεστοῦ παθεῖν ἀχθομένου τῇ παρὰ τοῦ
πλήθους εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῇ, καὶ Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
δῆλος ἦν ἀχθόμενος τιμωμένῳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἴωσι B
Λυσάνδρῳ.

Τούτους οὖν[2] πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἀρετῇ,
τοῖς πλουτοῦσι μὲν τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀσφαλέστερον
ἢ πατὴρ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ κατέστησας, εὐγε-

[1] πλέον ἔχουσι Reiske, πλέον MSS, Hertlein.
[2] οὖν ὅτι MSS.

than did the resources of their enemies, while others were jealous of the aristocrats among their subjects, and therefore persecuted the well-born in every possible way, or even exterminated their houses, and thus were responsible for the public disasters of their cities and, in private life, for the most infamous crimes. There were some who went so far as to envy mere physical advantages, such as health or good looks, or good condition. And as for a virtuous character among their subjects, they could not bear even to hear of it, but counted it a crime like murder or theft or treason to appear to lay claim to virtue. But perhaps someone will say, and with truth, that these were the actions and practices not of genuine kings but of base and contemptible tyrants. Nay, but that other malady which has been known to attack not only those who were irrational, but some even who were just and mild, I mean the tendency to quarrel with friends who were too prosperous and to wish to humble them and deprive them of their rightful possessions, who I ask has ever dared so much as to mention such conduct in your case? Yet such, they say, was the treatment that Cyrus the Persian, the king's son-in-law, received from his kinsman,[1] who could not brook the honour in which Cyrus was held by the common people, and Agesilaus also is well known to have resented the honours paid to Lysander by the Ionians.

All these, then, you have surpassed in merit, for you have made their wealth more secure for the rich than a father would for his own children,

[1] Cyaxares.

νείας δὲ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων προνοεῖς καθάπερ
ἁπάσης πόλεως οἰκιστὴς καὶ νομοθέτης· καὶ τοῖς
ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς πολλὰ μὲν προστιθείς,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς χαριζόμενος, δῆλος
εἶ τῷ μεγέθει μὲν τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων C
δωρεὰς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, τῇ βεβαιότητι δὲ τῶν
ἅπαξ δοθέντων τὰς παρὰ τῶν δήμων χάριτας
ἀποκρυπτόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ μάλα
εἰκότως συμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς συνίσασιν
αὑτοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἀγαθοῖς, τοῖς κεκτημένοις
βασκαίνουσιν, ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐστὶ
λαμπρὰ καὶ οἷα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
προαιρέσεως τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης μακρῷ σεμνότερα,
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτου δεόμενος τῷ κεκτημένῳ φθονήσειεν. D
ὃ δὴ καὶ σαυτῷ μάλιστα πάντων ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκὼς χαίρεις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθοῖς,
εὐφραίνει δέ σε τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων κατορθώματα·
καὶ τιμὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν ἐχαρίσω, τὰς δὲ
ἤδη μέλλεις, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐνίων βουλεύῃ· καὶ οὐκ
ἀπόχρη σοι πόλεως μιᾶς οὐδὲ ἔθνους ἑνὸς οὐδὲ
πολλῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπ'
αὐταῖς τιμὰς διανέμειν· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ βασιλείας
ἕλοιο κοινωνόν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοσοῦτον ὑπομείνας 45
πόνον τὸ τῶν τυράννων γένος ἀνῄρηκας, οὐδὲν
ἄξιον τῶν σαυτοῦ κατορθωμάτων ἔργον ὑπέλαβες.
καὶ ὅτι μὴ χρείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ χαίρειν πάντα

and you take thought that your subjects shall be well-born, as though you were the founder and law-giver of every single city. Those to whom fortune has been generous you still further enrich, and in many cases men owe all their wealth to your generosity, so that in amount your gifts clearly surpass those of other princes, while, in security of ownership of what has once been given, you cast into the shade any favours bestowed by democracies.[1] And this is, I think, very natural. For when men are conscious that they lack certain advantages, they envy those who do possess them, but when a man is more brilliantly endowed by fortune than any of his fellows, and by his own initiative has won even higher dignities than fate had assigned him, he lacks nothing, and there is none whom he need envy. And since you realise that in your case this is especially true, you rejoice at the good fortune of others and take pleasure in the successes of your subjects. You have already bestowed on them certain honours, and other honours you are on the point of bestowing, and you are making plans for the benefit of yet other persons. Nor are you content to award to your friends the government of a single city or nation, or even of many such, with the honours attaching thereto. But unless you chose a colleague[2] to share that empire on whose behalf you had spared no pains to exterminate the brood of usurpers, you thought that no act of yours could be worthy of your former achievements. That you reached this decision not so much because it was necessary as because you

[1] An echo of Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* 15.
[2] Gallus 351 A.D.: then Julian 355 A.D.

δωρούμενος ἐπὶ ταύτην ὥρμησας τὴν γνώμην, ἅπασιν οἶμαι γνώριμον γέγονε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀγώνων κοινωνὸν οὐχ εἵλου, τῆς τιμῆς δὲ τὸν οὐ μετασχόντα τῶν πόνων ἠξίωσας μεταλαβεῖν μόνον, ὅτε μηδὲν ἔτι φοβερὸν ἐδόκει. καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀφελὼν δῆλος B εἶ, τῶν πόνων δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν κοινωνεῖν ἀξιοῖς. πλὴν εἴ που δέοι πρὸς ὀλίγον ἑπόμενόν σοι στρατεύεσθαι. ποτερον οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων μαρτύρων τινῶν καὶ τεκμηρίων τῷ λόγῳ προσδεῖ; ἢ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μὴ ψευδεῖς ἐπεισάγει λόγους; ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον ἄξιον ἐνδιατρίβειν.

Σωφροσύνης δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσην εὔνοιαν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνειργάσω, C βραχέα διελθεῖν ἴσως οὐκ ἄτοπον. τίς γάρ σ'[1] ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ἁπαντων τοσαυτην ἐκ παίδων τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης ἐπιμέλειαν ἐσχηκότα, ὅσην οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν ἔμπροσθεν; καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐν παισὶ σωφροσύνης μάρτυς ὁ πατὴρ γέγονεν ἀξιόχρεως, σοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας μόνῳ, ὄντι γε οὐδὲ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων· τῆς δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἅπαντες αἰσθανόμεθα, καθάπερ πολί- D του τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούοντος, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλέως τῶν νόμων ἄρχοντος, ἀεί σου προσφερομένου τῷ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει. τίς γάρ σ'[2] ἔγνω μεῖζον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας φρονήσαντα; τίς δὲ ἐπαρθέντα

[1] σ' Hertlein suggests. [2] σ' Hertlein suggests.

take pleasure in giving all that you have to give, is, I suppose, well known to all. For you chose no colleague to aid you in your contests with the usurpers, but you thought it right that one who had not shared in the toil should share in the honour and glory, and that only when all danger seemed to be over. And it is well known that from that honour you subtract not even a trifling part, though you do not demand that he should share the danger even in some small degree, except indeed when it was necessary for a short time that he should accompany you on your campaign. Does my account of this call for any further witnesses or proofs? Surely it is obvious that he who tells the tale would not be the one to introduce a fictitious account. But on this part of my subject I must not spend any more time.

A few words about your temperance, your wisdom, and the affection that you inspired in your subjects, will not, I think, be out of place. For who is there among them all who does not know that from boyhood you cultivated the virtue of temperance as no one had ever done before you? That in your youth you possessed that virtue your father is a trustworthy witness, for he entrusted to you alone the management of affairs of state and all that related to your brothers, although you were not even the eldest of his sons. And that you still display it, now that you are a man, we are all well aware, since you ever behave towards the people and the magistrates like a citizen who obeys the laws, not like a king who is above the laws. For who ever saw you made arrogant by prosperity? Who ever saw you up-

τοῖς κατορθώμασι τοσούτοις[1] καὶ τηλικούτοις ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ γενομένοις; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φιλίππου φασὶν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Περσῶν καθεῖλε δύναμιν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν πρὸς ὄγκον μείζονα καὶ λίαν ἐπαχθῆ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπεροψίαν μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τοῦ φύσαντος ὑπερορᾶν 46
καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἁπάσης φύσεως. ἠξίου γὰρ υἱὸς Ἄμμωνος, ἀλλ' οὐ Φιλίππου νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ὅσοι μὴ κολακεύειν μηδὲ δουλεύειν ἠπίσταντο τῶν ἑαλωκότων πικρότερον ἐκολάζοντο. ἀλλὰ σοῦ γε τῆς εἰς τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς ἆρα ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα μεμνῆσθαι; ὃν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον σεβόμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις διετέλεις ἀνακηρύττων καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν ἥρωα. τῶν φίλων δέ, ἀξιοῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄχρις B
ὀνόματος μόνον τῆς τιμῆς, πολὺ δὲ πλέον διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων βεβαιοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοὔνομα· ἔστιν οὖν ἄρα τις ὁ μεμφόμενος ἀτιμίαν ἢ ζημίαν ἢ βλάβην ἤ τινα μικρὰν ὑπεροψίαν ἢ μείζονα; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν οὐδαμῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν γηραιοὶ σφόδρα, ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς τὴν εἱμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου παραμείναντες, τὰς ἐπιμελείας τῶν κοινῶν συναπέθεντο τοῖς σώμασι, παισὶν ἢ φίλοις ἤ τισι πρὸς γένους τοὺς C
κλήρους παραπέμποντες· ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ τὰς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύοντες, ἀφέσεως ἐντίμου τυχόντες, ζῶσιν ὄλβιοι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ μετήλλαξαν, εὐδαίμονες παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι

[1] τοσούτοις τῷ πλήθει V, τοσούτοις τὸ πλῆθος MSS.

lifted by those successes, so numerous and so splendid, and so quickly achieved? They say that Alexander, Philip's son, when he had broken the power of Persia, not only adopted a more ostentatious mode of life and an insolence of manner obnoxious to all, but went so far as to despise the father that begat him, and indeed the whole human race. For he claimed to be regarded as the son of Ammon instead of the son of Philip, and when some of those who had taken part in his campaigns could not learn to flatter him or to be servile, he punished them more harshly than the prisoners of war. But the honour that you paid to your father need I speak of in this place? Not only did you revere him in private life, but constantly, where men were gathered together in public, you sang his praises as though he were a beneficent hero-god. And as for your friends, you grant them that honour not merely in name, but by your actions you make their title sure. Can any one of them, I ask, lay to your charge the loss of any right, or any penalty or injury suffered, or any overbearing act either serious or trifling? Nay there is not one who could bring any such accusation. For your friends who were far advanced in years remained in office till the appointed end of their lives, and only laid down with life itself their control of public business, and then they handed on their possessions to their children or friends or some member of their family. Others again, when their strength failed for work or military service, received an honourable discharge, and are now spending their last days in prosperity; yet others have departed this life, and the people call them blessed.

κρινόμενοι. ὅλως δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ εἷς, ὃς ἐπειδὴ
ταύτης ἠξιώθη τῆς τιμῆς, εἰ καὶ μοχθηρὸς ὕστερον
ἐφάνη, τιμωρίας ἔτυχε μικρᾶς ἢ μείζονος· ἤρκεσε
δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι μόνον καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν
ἔτι.

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἅπασιν ὢν καὶ γεγονὼς τοιοῦτος D
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡδονῆς ἁπάσης, ᾗ πρόσεστιν ὄνειδος καὶ
μικρόν, καθαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν διεφύλαξας. μόνον δὲ
οἶμαι σὲ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων, σχεδὸν δὲ
πλὴν σφόδρα ὀλίγων καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ἀνδράσι μόνον παράδειγμα πρὸς σωφροσύνην παρα-
σχεῖν κάλλιστον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄν-
δρας κοινωνίας. ὅσα γὰρ ἐκείναις ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ 47
νόμοι τοῦ γνησίους[1] φύεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιμελό-
μενοι, ταῦτα ὁ λόγος ἀπαγορεύει ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
παρὰ σοί. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἔχων ἔτι πλείονα
λέγειν ἀφίημι.

Τῆς φρονήσεως δὲ ἄξιον μὲν ἔπαινον διελθεῖν
οὐδαμῶς εὐχερές, μικρὰ δὲ ὅμως καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης
ῥητέον. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔργα τῶν λόγων οἶμαι
πιστότερα. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν εἰκὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν
καὶ δύναμιν μὴ παρὰ τῆς ἴσης διοικουμένην καὶ B
κρατουμένην φρονήσεως πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος
ἀφικέσθαι καὶ κάλλος πράξεων· ἀγαπητὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ
τῇ τύχῃ μόνον δίχα φρονήσεως ἐπιτρεπομένη[2] ἐπὶ
πολὺ μένει.[3] ἀνθῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ προσσχόντα
πρὸς βραχὺ ῥᾴδιον, διαφυλάξαι δὲ τὰ δοθέντα
ἀγαθὰ δίχα φρονήσεως οὐ λίαν εὔκολον, μᾶλλον

[1] γνησίους MSS, Cobet, γνησίως V, Hertlein.
[2] M and Petavius omit πρὸς . . . ἐπιτρεπομένη.
[3] μένει Wyttenbach, μένειν MSS, Hertlein, ἐπὶ πολὺ μένειν V and Spanheim omit.

In short there is no man who having once been held worthy of the honour of your friendship, ever suffered any punishment great or small, even though later he proved to be vicious. For them all that he had to do was to depart and give no further trouble.

While this has been your character from first to last in all these relations, you always kept your soul pure of every indulgence to which the least reproach is attached. In fact I should say that you alone, of all the emperors that ever were, nay of all mankind almost, with very few exceptions, are the fairest example of modesty, not to men only but to women also in their association with men. For all that is forbidden to women by the laws that safeguard the legitimacy of offspring, your reason ever denies to your passions. But though I could say still more on this subject, I refrain.

Your wisdom it is by no means easy to praise as it deserves, but I must say a few words about it. Your actions, however, are more convincing, I think, than my words. For it is not likely that this great and mighty empire would have attained such dimensions or achieved such splendid results, had it not been directed and governed by an intelligence to match. Indeed, when it is entrusted to luck alone, unaided by wisdom, we may be thankful if it last for any length of time. It is easy by depending on luck to flourish for a brief space, but without the aid of wisdom it is very hard, or rather I might say impossible, to preserve the blessings that have been

δὲ ἀδύνατον ἴσως. ὅλως δὲ εἰ χρὴ καὶ περὶ
τούτων ἐναργὲς φράζειν τεκμήριον, πολλῶν καὶ
γνωρίμων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. τὴν γὰρ εὐβουλίαν C
ὑπολαμβάνομεν τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθῶν καὶ
συμφερόντων ἐξευρίσκειν τὰ κράτιστα. σκοπεῖν
οὖν ἄξιον ἐφ' ἁπάντων ἁπλῶς, εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' ἕν ἐστι
τῶν σοι πραχθέντων. οὐκοῦν ὅπου μὲν ἦν
ὁμονοίας χρεία, ἔχαιρες ἐλαττούμενος, ὅπου δὲ
τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐχρῆν βοηθεῖν, τὸν πόλεμον ἀνείλου[1]
προθυμότατα. καὶ Περσῶν μὲν τὴν δύναμιν
καταστρατηγήσας οὐδένα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἀποβαλὼν
διέφθειρας, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους δὲ πόλεμον
διελὼν τοῦ μὲν ἐκράτησας ταῖς δημηγορίαις, καὶ D
τὴν μετ' ἐκείνου δύναμιν ἀκέραιον καὶ κακῶν
ἀπαθῆ προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησας μᾶλλον διὰ
τῆς συνέσεως ἢ διὰ τῆς ῥώμης τὸν τοσούτων τοῖς
κοινοῖς αἴτιον συμφορῶν. βούλομαι δὲ σαφέ-
στερον περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν ἅπασι δεῖξαι, τίνι
μάλιστα πιστεύσας[2] τοσούτοις σαυτὸν ἐπιδοὺς
πράγμασιν οὐδενὸς ὅλως διήμαρτες. εὔνοιαν οἴει 48
δεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπάρχειν τῷ βασιλεύοντι
ἐρυμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον. ταύτην δὲ ἐπιτάττοντα
μὲν καὶ κελεύοντα καθάπερ εἰσφορὰς καὶ φόρους
κτήσασθαι παντελῶς ἄλογον. λείπεται δὴ λοιπόν,
καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὥρμηκας, τὸ πάντας εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ
μιμεῖσθαι τὴν θείαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύσιν· πρᾴως

[1] ἀνείλου Hertlein suggests, Cobet, cf. 94 D 95 A, εἶλω V, εἶλου MSS.
[2] πιστεύσας καὶ MSS.

bestowed. And, in short, if we need cite a convincing proof of this, we do not lack many notable instances. For by wise counsel we mean the ability to discover most successfully the measures that will be good and expedient when put into practice. It is therefore proper to consider in every case whether this wise counsel may not be counted as one of the things you have achieved. Certainly when there was need of harmony you gladly gave way, and when it was your duty to aid the community as a whole you declared for war with the utmost readiness. And when you had defeated the forces of Persia without losing a single hoplite, you made two separate campaigns against the usurpers, and after overcoming one of them[1] by your public harangue, you added to your army his forces, which were fresh and had suffered no losses, and finally, by intelligence rather than by brute force, you completely subdued the other usurper who had inflicted so many sufferings on the community. I now desire to speak more clearly on this subject and to demonstrate to all what it was that you chiefly relied on and that secured you from failure in every one of those great enterprises to which you devoted yourself. It is your conviction that the affection of his subjects is the surest defence of an emperor. Now it is the height of absurdity to try to win that affection by giving orders, and levying it as though it were a tax or tribute. The only alternative is the policy that you have yourself pursued, I mean of doing good to all men and imitating the divine nature on earth. To show mercy even in anger, to take away their

[1] Vetranio.

μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ὀργήν, τῶν τιμωριῶν δὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰς χαλεπότητας, πταίσασι δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιεικῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως προσφέρεσθαι. ταῦτα πράττων, ταῦτα θαυμάζων, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάττων μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην μέν, ἔτι τοῦ τυράννου κρατοῦντος τῆς Ἰταλίας, διὰ τῆς γερουσίας εἰς Παιονίαν μετέστησας, προθύμους δὲ εἶχες τὰς πόλεις πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας. B

Τῶν στρατευμάτων δὲ τὴν εὔνοιαν τίς ἂν ἀξίως διηγήσαιτο; τάξις μὲν ἱππέων πρὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Μύρσῃ παρατάξεως μεθειστήκει, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκράτησας, πεζῶν κατάλογοι καὶ τέλη λαμπρά. ἀλλὰ C
τὸ μικρὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου δυστυχῆ τελευτὴν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ γενόμενον κοινὴν ἁπάντων ἔδειξε στρατοπέδων τὴν εὔνοιαν, τὸν θρασυνόμενον καθάπερ ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας καὶ τὴν γυναικείαν ἁλουργίδα περιβαλόμενον ὥσπερ τινὰ λύκον[1] ἐξαίφνης διασπασαμένων. ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γέγονας τῇ πράξει, καὶ ὅπως πρᾴως ἅπασι καὶ φιλανθρώπως τοῖς ἐκείνου γνωρίμοις προσηνέχθης, ὅσοι μηδὲν ἠλέγχοντο ἐκείνῳ συμπράξαντες, πολλῶν ἐφεστηκότων τῇ κατηγορίᾳ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ τὴν D
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον φιλίαν ὑποπτεύειν μόνον κελευόντων, ἐγὼ μὲν ἁπάσης ἀρετῆς τίθεμαι τοῦτο[2] κεφάλαιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δικαίως φημὶ καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἐμφρόνως πεπρᾶχθαι. ὅστις δὲ ἄλλως ἡγεῖται καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀληθοῦς ὑπολήψεως καὶ τῆς σῆς γνώμης διήμαρτε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐλεγχθέντας δίκαιον ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, σώζεσθαι, 49

[1] τινὰ λύκον MSS, τινῶν λύκων Hertlein suggests.
[2] τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, τὸ MSS.

harshness from acts of vengeance, to display kindness and toleration to your fallen enemies, this was your practice, this you always commended and enjoined on others to imitate, and thus, even while the usurper still controlled Italy, you transferred Rome to Paeonia by means of the Senate and inspired the cities with zeal for undertaking public services.

As for the affection of your armies, what description could do it justice? Even before the battle at Myrsa, a division of cavalry came over to your side,[1] and when you had conquered Italy bodies of infantry and distinguished legions did the same. But what happened in Galatia[2] shortly after the usurper's miserable end demonstrated the universal loyalty of the garrisons to you; for when, emboldened by his isolated position, another[3] dared to assume the effeminate purple, they suddenly set on him as though he were a wolf and tore him limb from limb.[4] Your behaviour after that deed, your merciful and humane treatment of all those of his friends who were not convicted of having shared his crimes, and that in spite of all the sycophants who came forward with accusations and warned you to show only suspicion against friends of his, this I count as the culmination of all virtue. What is more, I maintain that your conduct was not only humane and just, but prudent in a still higher degree. He who thinks otherwise falls short of a true understanding of both the circumstances and your policy. For that those who had not been proved guilty should be protected was

[1] Under Silvanus.
[2] Gaul.
[3] Silvanus.
[4] 355 A.D.

ὑπόπτους δὲ τὰς φιλίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φευκτὰς οὐδαμῶς ᾤου δεῖν κατασκευάζειν, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοίας ἐς τοῦτο μεγέθους ἀρθεὶς καὶ πράξεων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ τετολμηκότος νήπιον κομιδῇ τῆς πατρῴας οὐδὲν εἴασας μετασχεῖν ζημίας. οὕτω σοι πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ἡ πρᾶξις ῥέπουσα τελείας ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει γνώρισμα. * * *

of course just, and you thought you ought by no means to make friendship a reason for suspicion and so cause it to be shunned, seeing that it was due to the loyal affection of your own subjects that you had attained to such power and accomplished so much. But the son of that rash usurper, who was a mere child, you did not allow to share his father's punishment. To such a degree does every act of yours incline towards clemency and is stamped with the mint-mark of perfect virtue * * * * *.[1]

[1] The peroration is lost.

ORATION II

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION II

The Second Oration is a panegyric of the Emperor Constantius, written while Julian, after his elevation to the rank of Caesar, was campaigning in Gaul.[1] It closely resembles and often echoes the First, and was probably never delivered. In his detailed and forced analogies of the achievements of Constantius with those of the Homeric heroes, always to the advantage of the former, Julian follows a sophistic practice that he himself condemns,[2] and though he more than once contrasts himself with the "ingenious rhetoricians" he is careful to observe all their rules, even in his historical descriptions of the Emperor's campaigns. The long Platonic digression on Virtue and the ideal ruler is a regular feature of a panegyric of this type, though Julian neglects to make the direct application to Constantius. In the First Oration he quoted Homer only once, but while the Second contains the usual comparisons with the Persian monarchs and Alexander, its main object is to prove, by direct references to the Iliad, that Constantius surpassed Nestor in strategy, Odysseus in eloquence, and in courage Hector, Sarpedon and Achilles.

[1] 56 B and 101 D. [2] 74 D.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ.

Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ἡ ποίησις, ὁπότε ἐμήνισε καὶ διηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεθεῖναι μὲν ταῖν χεροῖν τὴν αἰχμὴν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, ψαλτήριον δὲ ἁρμοσάμενον καὶ κιθάραν ᾄδειν καὶ ὑμνεῖν τῶν ἡμιθέων τὰς πράξεις, καὶ ταύτην διαγωγὴν τῆς ἡσυχίας ποιεῖσθαι, εὖ μάλα ἐμφρόνως τοῦτο διανοηθέντα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ παρο- D
ξύνειν τὸν βασιλέα λίαν αὔθαδες καὶ ἄγριον· τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ἀπολύεται τῆς μέμψεως ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος, ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἔργων εἰς ᾠδὰς καταχρῆται καὶ κρούματα, ἐξὸν τότε μὲν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὅπλων καὶ μὴ μεθιέναι, αὖθις δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίας ὑμνεῖν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ᾄδειν τὰ κατορθώματα.
οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονά φησιν ὁ πατὴρ 50
ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων μετρίως καὶ πολιτικῶς προσενεχθῆναι τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπειλῇ τε χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔργοις ὑβρίζειν, τοῦ γέρως ἀφαιρούμενον. συνάγων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς ταὐτὸν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταμελομένους, τὸν μὲν τῆς Θέτιδος ἐκβοῶντα

Ἀτρείδη, ἦ ἄρ τι τόδ᾽ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον
Ἔπλετο, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί,

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS,

OR, ON KINGSHIP

ACHILLES, as the poet tells us, when his wrath was kindled and he quarrelled with the king,[1] let fall from his hands his spear and shield; then he strung his harp and lyre and sang and chanted the deeds of the demi-gods, making this the pastime of his idle hours, and in this at least he chose wisely. For to fall out with the king and affront him was excessively rash and violent. But perhaps the son of Thetis is not free from this criticism either, that he spent in song and music the hours that called for deeds, though at such a time he might have retained his arms and not laid them aside, but later, at his leisure, he could have sung the praises of the king and chanted his victories. Though indeed the author of that tale tells us that Agamemnon also did not behave to his general either temperately or with tact, but first used threats and proceeded to insolent acts, when he robbed Achilles of his prize of valour. Then Homer brings them, penitent now, face to face in the assembly, and makes the son of Thetis exclaim

"Son of Atreus, verily it had been better on this wise for both thee and me!"[2]

[1] Agamemnon. [2] *Iliad* 19. 56.

εἶτα ἐπαρώμενον τῇ προφάσει τῆς ἀπεχθείας καὶ B
ἀπαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐκ τῆς μήνιδος ξυμφοράς, τὸν
βασιλέα δὲ αἰτιώμενον Δία καὶ Μοῖραν[1] καὶ
Ἐρινύν, δοκεῖ μοι διδάσκειν, ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι
τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀνδράσιν οἷον εἰκόσι χρώμενος,
ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας μηδὲν ὕβρει πράττειν
μηδὲ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς ἅπαν χρῆσθαι μηδὲ ἐφιέναι
τῷ θυμῷ, καθάπερ ἵππῳ θρασεῖ χήτει χαλινοῦ
καὶ ἡνιόχου φερομένῳ, παραινεῖν δὲ αὖ τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς ὑπεροψίαν βασιλικὴν μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, C
φέρειν δὲ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πρᾴως τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις,
ἵνα μὴ μεταμελείας αὐτοῖς ὁ βίος μεστὸς ᾖ.

Ταῦτα κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐννοῶν, ὦ φίλε βασιλεῦ, καὶ
σὲ μὲν ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν παιδείαν
ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ ἐθέλοντα πάντως κοινῇ μὲν[2]
ἅπαντας ἀγαθόν τι δρᾶν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἰδίᾳ τιμὰς καὶ
γέρα ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις παρασκευάζοντα, τοσούτῳ δὲ
οἶμαι κρείττονα τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέως εἶναι
ἐθέλοντα, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἠτίμαζε τοὺς ἀρίστους, σὺ
δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν φαύλων πολλοῖς τὴν συγγνώμην
νέμεις, τὸν Πιττακὸν ἐπαινῶν τοῦ λόγου, ὃς τὴν
συγγνώμην τῆς τιμωρίας προυτίθει, αἰσχυνοίμην D
ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ Πηλέως φαινοίμην εὐγνωμονέστερος
μηδὲ[3] ἐπαινοίην εἰς δύναμιν τὰ προσόντα σοί, οὔτι
φημὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἁλουργῆ χλαῖναν, οὐδὲ μὰ Δία
πέπλους παμποικίλους, γυναικῶν ἔργα Σιδωνίων,
οὐδὲ ἵππων Νισαίων κάλλη καὶ χρυσοκολλήτων
ἁρμάτων ἀστράπτουσαν αἴγλην, οὐδὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν 51

[1] Μοῖραν Hertlein suggests, Μοίρας MSS.
[2] κοινῇ μὲν Hertlein suggests, κοινῇ τε MSS, cf. 43 D, 51 D.
[3] μηδὲ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

Later on he makes him curse the cause of their quarrel, and recount the disasters due to his own wrath, and we see the king blaming Zeus and Fate and Erinys. And here, I think, he is pointing a moral, using those heroes whom he sets before us, like types in a tragedy, and the moral is that kings ought never to behave insolently, nor use their power without reserve, nor be carried away by their anger like a spirited horse that runs away for lack of the bit and the driver; and then again he is warning generals not to resent the insolence of kings but to endure their censure with self-control and serenely, so that their whole life may not be filled with remorse.[1]

When I reflect on this, my beloved Emperor, and behold you displaying in all that you do the result of your study of Homer, and see you so eager to benefit every citizen in the community in every way, and devising for me individually such honours and privileges one after another, then I think that you desire to be nobler than the king of the Greeks, to such a degree, that, whereas he insulted his bravest men, you, I believe, grant forgiveness to many even of the undeserving, since you approve the maxim of Pittacus which set mercy before vengeance. And so I should be ashamed not to appear more reasonable than the son of Peleus, or to fail to praise, as far as in me lies, what appertains to you, I do not mean gold, or a robe of purple, nay by Zeus, nor raiment embroidered all over, the work of Sidonian women,[2] nor beautiful Nisaean horses,[3] nor the gleam and glitter of gold-mounted chariots,

[1] *Republic* 577 E.
[2] *Iliad* 6. 289.
[3] Herodotus 7. 40; horses from the plain of Nisaea drew the chariot of Xerxes when he invaded Greece.

λίθον εὐανθῆ καὶ χαρίεσσαν. καίτοι γε εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τούτοις τὸν νοῦν προσέχων ἕκαστον ἀξιοῦν λόγου, μικροῦ πᾶσαν οἶμαι τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἀποχετεύσας ἔτι δεήσεται λόγων, καὶ οὐκ ἀποχρήσει σοὶ μόνῳ τὰ ξύμπασι ποιηθέντα τοῖς ἡμιθέοις ἐγκώμια. ἀρξώμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκήπτρου πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς· τί γὰρ δή φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλων τῆς B
τῶν Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνδείξασθαι;

ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων,

καὶ ἔδωκε Διί, ὁ δὲ τῷ τῆς Μαίας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ παιδί, Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκε Πέλοπι,[1] Πέλοψ δὲ

δῶκ' Ἀτρέι ποιμένι λαῶν·
Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπε πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ·
Αὐτὰρ ὅγ' αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δῶκε φορῆναι, C
Πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν·

Αὕτη σοι τῆς Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας ἡ γενεαλογία, εἰς τρεῖς οὐδὲ ὅλας μείνασα γενεάς· τά γε μὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυγγενείας ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ Κλαυδίου, μικρὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διαλιπούσης τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὼ πάππω τὼ σὼ διαδέχεσθον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς μητρὸς πατὴρ τὴν Ῥώμην διῴκει καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ D
τὴν Λιβύην τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν, οὔτι φαυλοτέραν τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Μυκηναίας

[1] [, ὁ δὲ] Πέλοπι Reiske, Hertlein.

nor the precious stone of India, so beautiful and lovely to look upon. And yet if one should choose to devote his attention to these and think fit to describe every one of them, he would have to draw on almost the whole stream of Homer's poetry and still he would be short of words, and the panegyrics that have been composed for all the demi-gods would be inadequate for your sole praise. First, then, let me begin, if you please, with your sceptre and your sovereignty itself. For what does the poet say when he wishes to praise the antiquity of the house of the Pelopids and to exhibit the greatness of their sovereignty?

"Then uprose their lord Agamemnon and in his hand was the sceptre that Hephaistos made and fashioned,"[1]

and gave to Zeus; then Zeus gave it to his own and Maia's son, and Hermes the prince gave it to Pelops, and Pelops

"Gave it to Atreus, shepherd of the host, and Atreus at his death left it to Thyestes, rich in flocks; and he in turn gave it into the hands of Agamemnon, so that he should rule over many islands and all Argos."

Here then you have the genealogy of the house of Pelops, which endured for barely three generations. But the story of our family began with Claudius; then its supremacy ceased for a short time, till your two grandfathers succeded to the throne. And your mother's father[2] governed Rome and Italy and Libya besides, and Sardinia and Sicily, an empire not inferior certainly to Argos and Mycenae. Your

[1] *Iliad* 2. 101. [2] Maximianus.

δυναστείαν, ὅ γε μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γεννήτωρ Γαλατίας ἔθνη τὰ μαχιμώτατα καὶ τοὺς Ἑσπερίους Ἴβηρας καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ὠκεανοῦ νήσους, αἳ τοσούτῳ μείζους τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁρωμένων εἰσίν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς εἴσω θαλάττης ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ὑπερχεομένη. ταύτας δὲ ὅλας τὰς χώρας καθαρὰς ἀπέφηναν πολεμίων, κοινῇ μὲν ἐπιστρατεύοντες, εἴ ποτε τούτου 52
δεήσειεν, ἐπιφοιτῶντες δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστος τῶν ὁμόρων βαρβάρων ὕβριν τε καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐξέκοπτον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐκοσμοῦντο. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ τὴν μὲν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ μοῖραν μάλα εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐκτήσατο, περιμείνας τὴν εἱμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδας ὑπενεχθέντα δουλείας ἔπαυσε χαλεπῆς, καὶ ἦρξε B
συμπάντων τρεῖς ὑμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας προσελόμενος ξυνάρχοντας. ἆρ' οὖν ἄξιον μέγεθος δυνάμεως παραβαλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ χρόνον καὶ πλῆθος βασιλευσάντων;[1] ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ἀρχαῖον, μετιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ θαυμαστέον σου τὴν χλαμύδα ξὺν τῇ πόρπῃ, ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ διατριβὴν παρέσχεν ἡδεῖαν; λόγου τε ἀξιωτέον πολλοῦ τὰς Τρωὸς ἵππους, αἳ τρισχίλιαι οὖσαι

ἕλος κάτα βουκολέοντο, C

καὶ τὰ φώρια τὰ ἐντεῦθεν; ἢ τοὺς Θρᾳκίους ἵππους εὐλαβησόμεθα λευκοτέρους μὲν τῆς χιόνος, θεῖν δὲ ὠκυτέρους τῶν χειμερίων πνευμάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἅρματα; καὶ ἔχομέν σε ἐν τούτοις

[1] [τῶν] βασιλευσάντων Hertlein.

father's father[1] ruled the most warlike of all the tribes of Galatia,[2] the Western Iberians[3] and the islands that lie in the Ocean,[4] which are as much larger than those that are to be seen in our seas as the sea that rolls beyond the pillars of Heracles is larger than the inner sea.[5] These countries your grandfathers entirely cleared of our foes, now joining forces for a campaign, when occasion demanded, now making separate expeditions on their own account, and so they annihilated the insolent and lawless barbarians on their frontiers. These, then, are the distinctions that they won. Your father inherited his proper share of the Empire with all piety and due observance, waiting till his father reached his appointed end. Then he freed from intolerable slavery the remainder, which had sunk from empire to tyranny, and so governed the whole, appointing you and your brothers, his three sons, as his colleagues. Now can I fairly compare your house with the Pelopids in the extent of their power, the length of their dynasty, or the number of those who sat on the throne? Or is that really foolish, and must I instead go on to describe your wealth, and admire your cloak and the brooch that fastens it, the sort of thing on which even Homer loved to linger? Or must I describe at length the mares of Tros that numbered three thousand, and "pastured in the marsh-meadow"[6] and the theft that followed?[7] Or shall I pay my respects to your Thracian horses, whiter than snow and faster than the storm winds, and your Thracian chariots? For in your case also we can extol all

[1] Constantius Chlorus. [2] Gaul.
[3] Julian is in error; according to Bury, in Gibbon, Vol. 2, p. 588, Spain was governed by Maximianus.
[4] The Atlantic. [5] The Mediterranean.
[6] *Iliad* 20. 221. [7] *Iliad* 5. 222.

ἐπαινεῖν, οἰκίαν τε οἶμαι τὴν Ἀλκίνου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μενέλεω δώματα καταπληξάμενα καὶ τὸν τοῦ πολύφρονος Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ τοιαῦτα ληρεῖν ἀναπείσαντα τοῖς σοῖς παραβαλεῖν ἀξιώσομεν, μή D
ποτε ἄρα ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τούτοις δοκῇς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπωσόμεθα τὴν φλυαρίαν; ἀλλ' ὅρα μή τις ἡμᾶς μικρολογίας καὶ ἀμαθίας τῶν ἀληθῶς καλῶν γραψάμενος ἕλῃ. οὐκοῦν ἀφέντας χρὴ τοῖς Ὁμηρίδαις τὰ τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τούτων ἐγγυτέρω πρὸς ἀρετήν, καὶ ὧν μείζονα ποιεῖ προμήθειαν, σώματος ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπειρίας, θαρροῦντας[1] ἰέναι.

Τίνι δήποτε οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς ὑμνουμένων σειρῆνος εἴξομεν; ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τοξότης παρ' 53
αὐτῷ Πάνδαρος, ἀνὴρ ἄπιστος καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὁπλίτης φαῦλος, Τεῦκρός τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μηριόνης, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πελειάδος τῷ τόξῳ χρώμενος, ὁ δὲ ἠρίστευε μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ἐδεῖτο δὲ ὥσπερ ἐρύματος καὶ τειχίου. ταῦτά τοι καὶ προβάλλεται τὴν ἀσπίδα, οὔτι τὴν οἰκείαν, τἀδελφοῦ δέ, καὶ στοχάζεται καθ' ἡσυχίαν τῶν πολεμίων, γελοῖος ἀναφανεὶς στρατιώτης, ὅς γε ἐδεῖτο μείζονος φύλακος καὶ οὐκ ἐν B
τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐποιεῖτο τῆς σωτηρίας τὰς ἐλπίδας. σὲ δῆτα ἐθεασάμην, ὦ φίλε βασιλεῦ, ἄρκτους καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας συχνοὺς καταβάλλοντα

[1] θαρροῦντας Cobet, θαρρούντως MSS, Hertlein.

these, and as for the palace of Alcinous and those halls that dazzled even the son of prudent Odysseus and moved him to such foolish expressions of wonder,[1] shall I think it worth while to compare them with yours, for fear that men should one day think that you were worse off than he in these respects, or shall I not rather reject such trifling? Nay, I must be on my guard lest someone accuse and convict me of using frivolons speech and ignoring what is really admirable. So I had better leave it to the Homerids to spend their energies on such themes, and proceed boldly to what is more closely allied to virtue, and things to which you yourself pay more attention, I mean bodily strength and experience in the use of arms.

And now which one of those heroes to whom Homer devotes his enchanting strains shall I admit to be superior to you? There is the archer Pandaros in Homer, but he is treacherous and yields to bribes[2]; moreover his arm was weak and he was an inferior hoplite: then there are besides, Teucer and Meriones. The latter employs his bow against a pigeon[3] while Teucer, though he distinguished himself in battle, always needed a sort of bulwark or wall. Accordingly he keeps a shield in front of him,[4] and that not his own but his brother's, and aims at the enemy at his ease, cutting an absurd figure as a soldier, seeing that he needed a protector taller than himself and that it was not in his weapons that he placed his hopes of safety. But I have seen you many a time, my beloved Emperor, bringing down bears and panthers and lions with the weapons

[1] *Odyssey* 4. 69 foll.
[2] *Iliad* 4. 97.
[3] *Iliad* 23. 870.
[4] *Iliad* 8. 266.

τοῖς ἀφιεμένοις βέλεσι, χρώμενον δὲ πρὸς θήραν καὶ παιδιὰν τόξῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀσπίς ἐστί σοι καὶ θώραξ καὶ κράνος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν καταδείσαιμι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τοῖς Ἡφαιστείοις λαμπρυνόμενον καὶ ἀποπειρώμενον αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων,

Εἴ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἀγλαὰ γυῖα· C

ἀνακηρύττει γὰρ εἰς ἅπαντας τὴν σὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὰ κατορθώματα.

Τήν γε μὴν ἱππικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις κουφότητα ἆρά σοι παραβαλεῖν ἄξιον τῶν πρόσθεν τοὺς ἀραμένους ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν μείζονα; ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐδὲ ηὕρητό πω; ἅρμασι γὰρ ἐχρῶντο καὶ οὔπω πώλοις ἄζυξι· τάχει δὲ ὅστις διήνεγκε, τούτῳ πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν ἀμφήριστος κρίσις· τάξιν δὲ κοσμῆσαι καὶ φάλαγγα D
διατάξαι καλῶς δοκεῖ Μενεσθεὺς κράτιστος, καὶ τούτῳ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ Πύλιος οὐχ ὑφίεται τῆς ἐμπειρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι πολλάκις τὰς τάξεις συνετάραξαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἴσχυον ἀντέχειν παρατattόμενοι· σοὶ δὲ μυρίαις μάχαις ξυμμίξαντι καὶ πολεμίοις πολλοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις, οὐκ ἐλάττοσι δὲ τούτων τοῖς οἴκοθεν ἀφεστῶσι καὶ συνεπιθεμένοις τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετερίσασθαι προελομένῳ ἀρραγὴς ἔμεινεν ἡ φάλαγξ καὶ ἀδιάλυτος, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ἐνδοῦσα. καὶ ὅτι 54
μὴ λῆρος ταῦτα μηδὲ προσποίησις λόγων τῆς

hurled by your hand, and using your bow both for hunting and for pastime, and on the field of battle you have your own shield and cuirass and helmet. And I should not be afraid to match you with Achilles when he was exulting in the armour that Hephaistos made, and testing himself and that armour to see

"Whether it fitted him and whether his glorious limbs ran free therein;"[1]

for your successes proclaim to all men your proficiency.

As for your horsemanship and your agility in running, would it be fair to compare with you any of those heroes of old who won a name and great reputation? Is it not a fact that horsemanship had not yet been invented? For as yet they used only chariots and not riding-horses. And as for their fastest runner, it is an open question how he compares with you. But in drawing up troops and forming a phalanx skilfully Menestheus[2] seems to have excelled, and on account of his greater age the Pylian[3] is his equal in proficiency. But the enemy often threw their line into disorder, and not even at the wall[4] could they hold their ground when they encountered the foe. You, however, engaged in countless battles, not only with hostile barbarians in great numbers, but with just as many of your own subjects, who had revolted and were fighting on the side of one who was ambitious of grasping the imperial power; yet your phalanx remained unbroken and never wavered or yielded an inch. That this is not an idle boast and that I do not make a

[1] *Iliad* 19. 385. [2] *Iliad* 2. 552. [3] Nestor: *Iliad* 2. 555.
[4] The building of a wall with towers, to protect the ships, is described in *Iliad* 7. 436 foll.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀληθείας κρείττων, ἐθέλω τοῖς παροῦσι διεξελθεῖν. γελοῖον γὰρ οἶμαι πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν σῶν ἔργων διηγεῖσθαι· καὶ ταὐτὸν ἂν πάθοιμι φαύλῳ καὶ ἀκόμψῳ θεατῇ τῶν Φειδίου δημιουργημάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν Φειδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντι διεξιέναι περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρθένου καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Πισαίοις Διός. εἰ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκφέροιμι τὰ σεμνότατα τῶν ἔργων, ἴσως ἂν B ἀποφύγοιμι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα, καὶ οὐκ ἔσομαι ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἔνοχος· ὥστε ἤδη θαρροῦντα χρὴ λέγειν.

Καί μοι μή τις δυσχεράνῃ πειρωμένῳ πράξεων ἅπτεσθαι μειζόνων, εἰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου συνεκθέοι μῆκος, καὶ ταῦτα θέλοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ βιαζομένου, ὅπως μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἡ τῶν λόγων ἀσθένεια περιχεομένη διαλυμήνηται· καθάπερ δὴ τὸν χρυσόν φασι τοῦ Θεσπιᾶσιν Ἔρωτος τοῖς πτεροῖς ἐπιβληθέντα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν C ἀφελεῖν τῆς τέχνης. δεῖται γὰρ ἀληθῶς τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς σάλπιγγος τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἔργα. δῆλον δὲ ἔσται χρωμένοις ἡμῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν λόγων, ὅνπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προυθέμεθα. ἐφαίνετο δὲ τῶν βασιλέως ἔργων πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων πολλὴ ξυγγένεια, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφαμεν ἁπάντων προφέρειν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος διήνεγκε, καὶ ὅπως ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν δὴ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ βασιλικώτερος, εἴ που D μεμνήμεθα τῶν ἐν προοιμίῳ ῥηθέντων, ἐπεδείκνυμεν, ἔσται δὲ καὶ μάλα αὖθις καταφανές. νῦν δέ, εἰ βούλεσθε, τὰ περὶ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς

pretension in words that goes beyond the actual facts, I will demonstrate to my hearers. For I think it would be absurd to relate to you your own achievements. I should be like a stupid and tasteless person who, on seeing the works of Pheidias should attempt to discuss with Pheidias himself the Maiden Goddess on the Acropolis, or the statue of Zeus at Pisa. But if I publish to the rest of the world your most distinguished achievements, I shall perhaps avoid that blunder and not lay myself open to criticism. So I will hesitate no more but proceed with my discourse.

I hope no one will object if, when I attempt to deal with exploits that are so important, my speech should become proportionately long, and that though I desire to limit and restrain it lest my feeble words overwhelm and mar the greatness of your deeds; like the gold which when it was laid over the wings of the Eros at Thespiae[1] took something, so they say, from the delicacy of its workmanship. For your triumphs really call for the trumpet of Homer himself, far more than did the achievements of the Macedonian.[2] This will be evident as I go on to use the same method of argument which I adopted when I began. It then became evident that there is a strong affinity between the Emperor's exploits and those of the heroes, and I claimed that while one hero excelled the others in one accomplishment only, the Emperor excels them all in all those accomplishments. That he is more kingly than the king himself[3] I proved, if you remember, in what I said in my introduction, and again and again it will be evident. But now let us, if you please, consider

[1] By Praxiteles. [2] Alexander. [3] Agamemnon.

πολέμους ἀθρήσωμεν. τίνας οὖν Ὅμηρος διαφερόντως ὕμνησεν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων; αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ καιριώτατα.

Τίς τ' ἄρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην, σύ μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, 55
Ἀνδρῶν ἠδ' ἵππων, οἳ ἅμ' Ἀτρείδαισιν ἕποντο.
Ἀνδρῶν μὲν μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,
Ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν· ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν.

καὶ αὖθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τελαμωνίου φησίν·

Αἴας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος, περὶ δ' ἔργ' ἐτέτυκτο,
Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. B

Ἑλλήνων μὲν δὴ τούτους ἀρίστους ἀφῖχθαί φησι, τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς Τρῶας Ἕκτορα καὶ Σαρπηδόνα. βούλεσθε οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ λαμπρότατα ἐπιλεξάμενοι περιαθρῶμεν τὸ μέγεθος; καὶ γάρ πως ἐς ταὐτόν τισι τῶν βασιλέως[1] ξυμφέρεται ἥ τε ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τοῦ Πηλέως μάχη καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος· Αἴας τε ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος C τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς τῶν ἰκρίων ἴσως ἂν τυγχάνοι τινὸς ἀξίας εἰκόνος. ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν διηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχην, ἣν ἠγωνίσατο βασιλεὺς ἔναγχος. ἴστε δὲ ὅθεν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξερράγη, καὶ ὅτι ξὺν δίκῃ καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίᾳ διεπολεμήθη. κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπομνησθῆναι δι' ὀλίγων.

Ἀνὴρ ἄπιστος καὶ θρασὺς τῆς οὐ προσηκούσης ὀρεχθεὶς ἡγεμονίας κτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλέως D

[1] [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein.

his battles and campaigns. What Greeks and barbarians did Homer praise above their fellows? I will read you those of his verses that are most to the point.

"Tell me, Muse, who was foremost of those warriors and horses that followed the sons of Atreus. Of warriors far the best was Ajax, son of Telamon, so long as the wrath of Achilles endured. For he was far the foremost."[1] And again he says of the son of Telamon:

"Ajax who in beauty and in the deeds he wrought was of a mould above all the other Danaans, except only the blameless son of Peleus."[2]

These two, he says, were the bravest of the Greeks who came to the war, and of the Trojan army Hector and Sarpedon. Do you wish, then, that I should choose out their most brilliant feats and consider what they amounted to? And, in fact, the fighting of Achilles at the river resembles in some respects certain of the Emperor's achievements, and so does the battle of the Achaeans about the wall. Or Ajax again, when, in his struggle to defend the ships, he goes up on to their decks, might be allowed some just resemblance to him. But now I wish to describe to you the battle by the river which the Emperor fought not long ago. You know the causes of the outbreak of the war, and that he carried it through, not from desire of gain, but with justice on his side. There is no reason why I should not briefly remind you of the facts.

A rash and traitorous man[3] tried to grasp at power to which he had no right, and assassinated the

[1] *Iliad* 2. 761 foll. [2] *Odyssey* 11. 550 [3] Magnentius.

καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνόν, καὶ ᾔρετο λαμπραῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα μιμησόμενος καὶ ἀποφανῶν οὐ μῦθον τὸν Ὁμήρου λόγον, παντὸς δὲ ἀληθῆ μᾶλλον, ὃς ἔφη περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ·

Τρὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἰών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἵκετο τέκμωρ,
Αἰγάς,

καὶ ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ὑποζεύξας τοὺς ἵππους διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐφέρετο.

Γηθοσύνῃ δὲ θάλασσα διΐστατο· τοὶ δ' ἐπέτοντο 56
Ῥίμφα μάλ', οὐδ' ὑπένερθε διαίνετο χάλκεος ἄξων,

ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν ὄντος, πάντων δὲ ἐξισταμένων καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ἐν χαρμονῇ. οὔκουν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πολέμιον οὐδὲ ἀντίπαλον ᾤετο καταλιπέσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν κατείργειν οὐδὲ ἓν τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος στῆναι ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς. εἵπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ὁπλίτης,[1] ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐχ ἥττους, ἀλλ' οἵπερ ἄλκιμοι, Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες B
Γερμανῶν τε οἱ πρόσοικοι Ῥήνῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἣν εἴτε Ὠκεανὸν χρὴ καλεῖν εἴτε Ἀτλαντικὴν θάλατταν εἴτε ἄλλῃ τινὶ χρῆσθαι προσωνυμίᾳ προσῆκον, οὐκ ἰσχυρίζομαι· πλὴν ὅτι δὴ αὐτῇ προσοικεῖ δύσμαχα καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν γένη βαρβάρων, οὐκ ἀκοῇ μόνον, ἥπερ δὴ τυγχάνει πίστις οὐκ ἀσφαλής, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ πείρᾳ τοῦτο ἐκμαθὼν οἶδα. τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξαναστήσας οὐκ ἔλαττον C

[1] ὁπλίτης Cobet, ὁπλίτης πεζός MSS., Hertlein.

Emperor's brother and partner in empire. Then he began to be uplifted and dazzled by his hopes, as though he was about to imitate Poseidon and to prove that Homer's story was not mere fiction but absolutely true, where he says about the god

"Three strides did he make, and with the fourth came to his goal, even to Aegae,"[1]

and how he took thence all his armour and harnessed his horses and drove through the waves:

"And with gladness the sea parted before him, and the horses fared very swiftly, and the bronze axle was not wetted beneath,"

for nothing stood in his way, but all things stood aside and made a path for him in their joy. Even so the usurper thought that he had left behind him nothing hostile or opposed to him, and that there was nothing at all to hinder him from taking up a position at the mouth of the Tigris. And there followed him a large force of heavy infantry and as many cavalry, yes, and good fighters they were, Celts, Iberians and Germans from the banks of the Rhine and from the coasts of the western sea. Whether I ought to call that sea the Ocean or the Atlantic, or whether it is proper to use some other name for it, I am not sure. I only know that its coasts are peopled by tribes of barbarians who are not easy to subdue and are far more energetic than any other race, and I know it not merely from hearsay, on which it is never safe to rely, but I have learned it from personal experience. From these tribes, then, he mustered an army as large as that which

[1] *Iliad* 13. 20.

πλῆθος τῆς οἴκοθεν αὐτῷ ξυνεπισπομένης[1]
στρατιᾶς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον εἵπετο
πολὺ καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμφυλον, τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον· οὕτω
γὰρ καλεῖν ἄξιον· ὁπόσον Ῥωμαίων βίᾳ καὶ οὐ
γνώμῃ ξυνηκολούθησεν, ἐοικὸς ἐπικούροις καὶ
μισθοφόροις, ἐν Καρὸς εἵπετο τάξει καὶ σχήματι,
δύσνουν μέν, ὡς εἰκός, βαρβάρῳ καὶ ξένῳ, μέθῃ
καὶ κραιπάλῃ τὴν δυναστείαν περιφρονήσαντι καὶ D
ἀνελομένῳ, ἄρχοντι δέ, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον τὸν ἐκ
τοιούτων προοιμιων καὶ προνομίων ἀρξάμενον.
ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτι κατὰ τὸν Τυφῶνα, ὃν ἡ
ποιητικὴ τερατεία φησὶ τῷ Διὶ χαλεπαίνουσαν
τὴν Γῆν ὠδῖναι, οὐδὲ ὡς γιγάντων ὁ κράτιστος,
ἀλλ' οἵαν ὁ σοφὸς ἐν μύθοις Πρόδικος τὴν Κακίαν
δημιουργεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρετὴν[2] διαμιλλωμένην καὶ
ἐθέλουσαν τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἀναπείθειν παῖδα, ὅτι
ἄρα αὐτῷ μάλιστα πάντων τιμητέα εἴη. προάγων
δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προυφέρετο τὰ τοῦ Καπανέως, 57
βαρβαρίζων[3] καὶ ἀνοηταίνων, οὔτι μὴν κατ'
ἐκεῖνον τῇ ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς πίσυνος οὐδὲ ἀλκῇ
τοῦ σώματος, τῷ πλήθει δὲ τῶν ξυνεπομένων
βαρβάρων, οἷς δὴ καὶ λείαν ἅπαντα προθήσειν
ἠπείλει, ταξίαρχον ταξιάρχῳ καὶ λοχαγὸν λοχαγῷ
καὶ στρατιώτην στρατιώτῃ τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐταῖς
ἀποσκευαῖς καὶ κτήμασιν, οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα ἀφιεὶς
ἐλεύθερον. αὔξει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ

[1] ξυνεπισπομένης Cobet, ξυνεπομένης V Hertlein ξυνεφεπομένης MSS. [2] (τὴν) Ἀρετὴν Hertlein, ἀρετὴν MSS.
[3] βαρβαρίζων MSS., Hertlein, βατταρίζων Cobet, cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 175 c.

marched with him from home, or rather many followed him because they were his own people, allied to him by the ties of race, but our subjects—for so we must call them—I mean all his Roman troops followed from compulsion and not from choice, like mercenary allies, and their position and *rôle* was like that of the proverbial Carian,[1] since they were naturally ill-disposed to a barbarian and a stranger who had conceived the idea of ruling and embarked on the enterprise at the time of a drunken debauch, and was the sort of leader that one might expect from such a preface and prelude as that. He led them in person, not indeed like Typho, who, as the poet tells us,[2] in his wonder tale, was brought forth by the earth in her anger against Zeus, nor was he like the strongest of the Giants, but he was like that Vice incarnate which the wise Prodicus created in his fable,[3] making her compete with Virtue and attempt to win over the son of Zeus,[4] contending that he would do well to prize her above all else. And as he led them to battle he outdid the behaviour of Capaneus,[5] like the barbarian that he was, in his insensate folly, though he did not, like Capaneus, trust to the energy of his soul or his physical strength, but to the numbers of his barbarian followers; and he boasted that he would lay everything at their feet to plunder, that every general and captain and common soldier of his should despoil an enemy of corresponding rank of his baggage and belongings, and that he would enslave the owners as well. He was confirmed in

[1] The Carians were proverbially worthless; cf. 320 D.
[2] Hesiod, *Theogony*.
[3] Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2. 1. 2.
[4] Heracles.
[5] Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 440; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1182.

βασιλέως[1] δεινότης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσχωριῶν εἰς τὰ B πεδία κατάγει γανύμενον καὶ οὐ ξυνιέντα, δρασμὸν δὲ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ οὐ στρατηγίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνοντα. ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἁλίσκεται, καθάπερ ὄρνιθες καὶ ἰχθύες δικτύοις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Παιόνων ἦλθε καὶ ἐδόκει λῷον ἐνταῦθα διαγωνίζεσθαι, τότε δὴ βασιλεὺς τούς τε ἱππέας ἐπὶ κέρως τάττει χωρὶς ἑκατέρου.

Τούτων δὲ οἱ μέν εἰσιν αἰχμοφόροι, θώραξιν ἐλατοῖς καὶ κράνεσιν ἐκ σιδήρου πεποιημένοις σκεπόμενοι· κνημῖδές τε τοῖς σφυροῖς εὖ μάλα C περιηρμοσμέναι καὶ περιγονατίδες καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐκ σιδήρου καλύμματα· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων φερόμενοι, οὐδὲν ἀσπίδος δεόμενοι. τούτοις εἵπετο τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέων πλῆθος ἀσπίδας φέροντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων τοξεύοντες. πεζῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν ὁπλίτης ἦν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνάπτων D ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν· ἐξόπισθεν δὲ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ τοξόται καὶ ὁπόσον ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλει γυμνὸν ἀσπίδος καὶ θώρακος. οὕτω κοσμηθείσης τῆς φάλαγγος, μικρὰ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως προελθόντος ἅπαν τὸ πολέμιον συνετετάρακτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαττε τὴν τάξιν.[2] ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντων φεύγει μὲν αἰσχρῶς ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν αἴσχιον ἁρπάσας, λείπει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππαρχον καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους πάνυ πολλοὺς καὶ

[1] [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein, cf. 55 B.
[2] τὴν τάξιν Hertlein suggests, τάξιν MSS.

this attitude by the Emperor's clever strategy, and led his army out from the narrow passes to the plains in high spirits and little knowing the truth, since he decided that the Emperor's march was merely flight and not a manœuvre. Thus he was taken unawares, like a bird or fish in the net. For when he reached the open country and the plains of Paeonia, and it seemed advantageous to fight it out there, then and not before the Emperor drew up his cavalry separately on both wings.

Of these troops some carry lances and are protected by cuirasses and helmets of wrought iron mail. They wear greaves that fit the legs closely, and knee-caps, and on their thighs the same sort of iron covering. They ride their horses exactly like statues, and need no shield. In the rear of these was posted a large body of the rest of the cavalry, who carried shields, while others fought on horseback with bows and arrows. Of the infantry the hoplites occupied the centre and supported the cavalry on either wing. In their rear were the slingers and archers and all troops that shoot their missiles from the hand and have neither shield nor cuirass. This, then, was the disposition of our phalanx. The left wing slightly outflanked the enemy, whose whole force was thereby thrown into confusion, and their line broke. When our cavalry made a charge and maintained it stubbornly, he who had so shamefully usurped the imperial power disgraced himself by flight, and left there his cavalry commander and his numerous chiliarchs and taxiarchs, who continued to fight bravely, and in

ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνιζομένους, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν ποιητὴν
τοῦ τερατώδους καὶ ἐξαγίστου δράματος, ὃς πρῶτος 58
ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλετο μεταποιῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ
ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ γέρως ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ τέως μὲν[1] ἔχαιρε τῆς πρώτης πείρας
οὐκ ἀποσφαλεὶς οὐδὲ ἁμαρτήσας, τότε δὲ ἐφε-
στώσας ξὺν δίκῃ ποινὰς ἀπαιτεῖται τῶν ἔργων
καὶ ἄπιστον τιμωρίαν εἰσπράττεται. πάντων
γὰρ ὁπόσοι τοῦ πολέμου τῷ τυράννῳ συνεφή-
ψαντο ἐμφανὴς μὲν ὁ θάνατος, δήλη δ᾽ ἡ φυγὴ
καὶ ἄλλων μεταμέλεια· ἱκέτευον γὰρ πολλοί, καὶ B
ἔτυχον ἅπαντες συγγνώμης, βασιλέως τὸν τῆς
Θέτιδος ὑπερβαλλομένου μεγαλοφροσύνῃ. ὁ
μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ Πάτροκλος ἔπεσεν, οὐδὲ πιπρά-
κειν ἁλόντας ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἠξίου, ἀλλ᾽
ἱκετεύοντας περὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔκτεινεν· ὁ δὲ
ἐκήρυττεν ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐξαρνουμένοις τὴν ξυνωμο-
σίαν, οὐ θανάτου μόνον ἢ φυγῆς ἤ τινος ἄλλης
τιμωρίας ἀφαιρῶν τὸν φόβον, ὥσπερ δὲ ἔκ τινος
ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἄλης δυστυχοῦς τῆς ξὺν τῷ C
τυράννῳ βιοτῆς κατάγειν σφᾶς ἐπ᾽ ἀκεραίοις τοῖς
πρόσθεν ἠξίου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ αὖθις τεύξεται
λόγου.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἤδη ῥητέον, ὡς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κει-
μένοις ἦν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὁ παιδοτρίβης
τοῦ τυράννου. τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ ἐλπίσαι συγγνώμην
εὔλογον οὕτω μὲν ἄδικα διανοηθέντα, ἀσεβῆ δὲ
ἐργασάμενον, φόνων τε ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναι-
κῶν, πολλῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν, πάντων δὲ σχεδὸν D

[1] μὲν Reiske adds.

command of all these the real author[1] of that monstrous and unholy drama, who had been the first to suggest to him that he should pretend to the imperial power and rob us of our royal privilege.

For a time indeed he enjoyed success, and at his first attempt met with no repulse or failure, but on that day he provoked the punishment that justice had in store for his misdeeds, and had to pay a penalty that is hardly credible. For all the others who abetted the usurper in that war met death openly or their flight was evident to all, as was the repentance of others. For many came as suppliants, and all obtained forgiveness, since the Emperor surpassed the son of Thetis in generosity. For Achilles, after Patroclus fell, refused any longer even to sell those whom he took captive, but slew them as they clasped his knees and begged for mercy. But the Emperor proclaimed an amnesty for those who should renounce the conspiracy, and so not only freed them from the fear of death or exile or some other punishment, but, as though their association with the usurper had been due to some misadventure or unhappy error, he deigned to reinstate them and completely cancel the past. I shall have occasion to refer to this again.

But what I must now state is that the man who had trained and tutored the usurper was neither among the fallen nor the fugitives. It was indeed natural that he should not even hope for pardon, since his schemes had been so wicked, his actions so infamous, and he had been responsible for the slaughter of so many innocent men and women, of whom many were private citizens, and of almost all who were connected

[1] Marcellinus.

ὁπόσοι τοῦ βασιλείου γένους μετεῖχον ἀψάμενον, οὔτι ξὺν δείματι οὐδὲ ἄν τις ἐμφύλιον φόνον διανοηθείη δρῶν, παλαμναίους τινὰς καὶ μιάστορας δεδιὼς καὶ ὑφορώμενος ἐκ τοῦ μιάσματος, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ τισὶ καθαρσίοις καινοῖς καὶ ἀτόποις τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀπονιπτόμενος ἄνδρα ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀποκτιννὺς εἰκότως ἀπέγνω τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ταῦτα εἰκὸς μὲν αὐτὸν
διανοηθῆναι, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ 59
ἴσμεν ὅ, τί ποτε παθὼν ἢ δράσας ᾤχετο ἄιστος, ἄφαντος. ἀλλ᾽ εἴτε αὐτὸν δαίμων τιμωρὸς ξυναρπάσας, καθάπερ Ὅμηρός φησι τὰς τοῦ Πανδάρεω[1] θυγατέρας, ἐπὶ γῆς ἄγει πέρατα ποινὰς ἀπαιτήσων τῶν διανοημάτων, εἴτε αὐτὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὑποδεξάμενος ἑστιᾶν κελεύει τοὺς ἰχθῦς, οὔτι πω δῆλον. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς καὶ ὁπηνίκα οἱ
λόχοι συνετάττοντο πρὸς φάλαγγα θρασὺς ἦν ἐν B
μέσοις ἀναστρεφόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπράχθη[2] τὰ τῆς μάχης, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον, ἀφανὴς ᾤχετο οὐκ οἶδα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων κρυφθείς, πλὴν ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀμείνοσι ταῖς τύχαις εὔδηλον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὖθις ἔμελλε φανεὶς ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας ὑβρίζων ἀδεῶς εὐδαιμονήσειν, ὡς ᾤετο, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς ἀφανισθεὶς τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν αὐτῷ μὲν

[1] Πανδάρεω V, Naber, cf. *Odyssey* 20, 66, Τυνδάρεω MSS., Hertlein. [2] ἐπράχθη MSS., Hertlein, ἐταράχθη Naber.

with the imperial family. And he had done this not with shrinking nor with the sentiments of one who sheds the blood of his own people, and because of that stain of guilt fears and is on the watch for the avenger and those who will exact a bloody reckoning, but, with a kind of purification that was new and unheard of, he would wash his hands of the blood of his first victims, and then go on to murder man after man, and then, after those whom they held dear, he slew the women as well. So he naturally abandoned the idea of appealing for mercy. But likely as it is that he should think thus, yet it may well be otherwise. For the fact is that we do not know what he did or suffered before he vanished out of sight, out of our ken. Whether some avenging deity snatched him away, as Homer says of the daughters of Pandareos,[1] and even now is carrying him to the very verge of the world to punish him for his evil designs, or whether the river[2] has received him and bids him feed the fishes, has not yet been revealed. For till the battle actually began, and while the troops were forming the phalanx, he was full of confidence and went to and fro in the centre of their line. But when the battle was ended as was fitting, he vanished completely, taken from our sight by I know not what god or supernatural agency, only it is quite certain that the fate in store for him was far from enviable. At any rate he was not destined to appear again, and, after insulting us with impunity, live prosperous and secure as he thought he should; but he was doomed to be completely blotted out and to suffer a punishment that for him indeed was

[1] *Odyssey* 20. 66. [2] The Drave.

δυστυχῆ, πολλοῖς δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸν μηχανοποιὸν τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως πλείονος ἀξιωθέντα λόγου, μέσῃ τῇ C
πράξει[1] παρελόμενα τὸ ξυνεχὲς τῆς διηγήσεως, ἐνταῦθά που πάλιν ἀφετέα. ἐπανιτέον δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἀποδοτέον τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ξὺν τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν δειλίᾳ καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πίπτει φρονήματα, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῖς διεφθάρη, οὐ κακίᾳ σφῶν, ἀπειρίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ τοῦ τάττοντος, κατὰ λόχους συνιστάμενοι διηγωνίζοντο· καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον ἁπάσης ἐλπίδος μεῖζον, τῶν μὲν D
οὐχ ὑφιεμένων ἐς τὸ παντελὲς τοῖς κρατοῦσι, τῶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν τελέως τῇ νίκῃ φιλοτιμουμένων, ξυμμιγής τε ᾔρετο τάραχος καὶ βοὴ καὶ κτύπος τῶν ὅπλων, ξιφῶν τε ἀγνυμένων ἀμφὶ τοῖς κράνεσι καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων περὶ τοῖς δόρασιν. ἀνὴρ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ξυνίστατο, καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὠθοῦντο[2] μικρὰ τοῦ παθεῖν φροντίζοντες, ἅπαντα δὲ εἰς τὸ δρᾶσαί τι δεινὸν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν θυμὸν τρέποντες, τοῦ μὴ καθαρὰν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ ἄδακρυν παρασχεῖν τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. καὶ 60
ταῦτα ἔδρων οὐ πεζοὶ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοις τῶν ἱππέων ὑπὸ τῶν θραυμάτων ἀχρεῖα παντελῶς ἐγεγόνει τὰ δόρατα.[3] ξυστοὶ δέ εἰσιν εὐμήκεις, οὓς συγκαταγνύντες καὶ ἀποπηδῶντες εἰς τοὺς ὁπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο.

[1] μέσῃ τῇ πράξει V, Hertlein, μισητῆς πράξεως Reiske, μέσῃ τῆς πράξεως MSS.
[2] Naber suggests ὤθουν ὠθοῦντο.
[3] After δόρατα Petavius, Hertlein omit σφῶν.

fatal, but to many was beneficial and gave them a chance of recovery.

Now though it would be well worth while to devote more of my speech to this man who was the author of that whole enterprise, it breaks the thread of my narrative which had reached the thick of the action, so I must leave that subject for the present, and going back to the point where I digressed, describe how the battle ended. For though their generals showed such cowardice, the courage of the soldiers was by no means abated. When their line was broken, which was due not to their cowardice but to the ignorance and inexperience of their leader, they formed into companies and kept up the fight. And what happened then was beyond all expectation; for the enemy refused altogether to yield to those who were defeating them, while our men did their utmost to achieve a signal victory, and so there arose the wildest confusion, loud shouts mingled with the din of weapons, as swords were shattered against helmets and shields against spears. It was a hand to hand fight, in which they discarded their shields and attacked with swords only, while, indifferent to their own fate, and devoting the utmost ardour to inflicting severe loss on the foe, they were ready to meet even death if only they could make our victory seem doubtful and dearly bought. It was not only the infantry who behaved thus to their pursuers, but even the cavalry whose spears were broken and were now entirely useless. Their shafts are long and polished, and when they had broken them they

καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ἀντεῖχον· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἵ τε ἱππεῖς ἔβαλλον ἐκ τόξων πόρρωθεν ἐφιππαζόμενοι[1] καὶ οἱ θωρακοφόροι πυκναῖς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐπελάσεσιν ἅτε ἐν πεδίῳ B
καθαρῷ καὶ λείῳ νύξ τε ἐπέλαβεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἀπέφευγον ἄσμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐδίωκον καρτερῶς ἄχρι τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱροῦσιν αὐταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς καὶ ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ κτήνεσιν. ἀρξαμένης δέ, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἄρτι τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν διωκόντων οὐκ ἀνιέντων, ἐπὶ τὸ λαιὸν ὠθοῦνται, ἵναπερ ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος, καὶ ἐπλήσθη νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων C
ἀναμίξ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Δρᾶος ᾤκει Σκαμάνδρῳ, οὐδὲ ἦν εὐμενὴς τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀπορριπτεῖν τῶν ῥευμάτων, τοὺς ζῶντας δὲ ξυγκαλυπτειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν ἀσφαλῶς ταῖς δίναις. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Τρὼς τυχὸν μὲν ὑπὸ εὐνοίας ἔδρα, τυχὸν δὲ οὕτως ἔχων μεγέθους, ὡς ῥᾴδιον παρέχειν βαδίζειν τε ἐθέλοντι καὶ νηχομένῳ τὸν πόρον· ἐπεὶ καὶ γεφυροῦται μιᾶς ἐμβληθείσης εἰς αὐτὸν D
πτελέας, ἅπας τε ἀναμορμύρων ἀφρῷ καὶ αἵματι πλάζ' ὤμους Ἀχιλῆος, εἰ χρὴ καὶ τοῦτο πιστεῦσαι, βιαιότερον δὲ οὐδὲν εἰργάζετο· καὶ ἐπιλαβόντος ὀλίγου καύματος ἀπαγορεύει τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐξόμνυται τὴν ἐπικουρίαν. Ὁμήρου δὲ ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο παίγνιον, καινὸν καὶ ἄτοπον μονομαχίας τρόπον ἐπινοήσαντος. ἐπεὶ καὶ τἆλλα

[1] ἐφιππαζόμενοι Hertlein suggests, ἀφιππαζόμενοι MSS.

dismounted and transformed themselves into hoplites. So for some time they held their own against the greatest odds. But since our cavalry kept shooting their arrows from a distance as they rode after them, while the cuirassiers made frequent charges, as was easy on that unobstructed and level plain, and moreover night overtook them, the enemy were glad at last to take to flight, while our men kept up a vigorous pursuit as far as the camp and took it by assault, together with the baggage and slaves and baggage animals. Directly the rout of the enemy had begun, as I have described, and while we kept up a hot pursuit, they were driven towards the left, where the river was on the right of the victors. And there the greatest slaughter took place, and the river was choked with the bodies of men and horses, indiscriminately. For the Drave was not like the Scamander, nor so kind to the fugitives; it did not put ashore and cast forth from its waters the dead in their armour, nor cover up and hide securely in its eddies those who escaped alive. For that is what the Trojan river did [1], perhaps out of kindness, perhaps it was only that it was so small that it offered an easy crossing to one who tried to swim or walk. In fact, when a single poplar was thrown into it, it formed a bridge,[2] and the whole river roared with foam and blood and beat upon the shoulders of Achilles,[3] if indeed we may believe even this, but it never did anything more violent. When a slight fire scorched it, it gave up fighting at once and swore not to play the part of ally. However this, too, was probably a jest on Homer's part, when he invented that strange and unnatural sort of duel. For in the

[1] *Iliad* 21. 325 foll. [2] *Iliad* 21. 242. [3] *Iliad* 21. 269.

δῆλός ἐστιν Ἀχιλλεῖ χαριζόμενος, καὶ ὥσπερ
θεατὰς ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα μόνον ἄμαχον καὶ 61
ἀνυπόστατον ἐπάγει τοῖς πολεμίοις, κτείνοντα
μὲν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, τρεπόμενον δὲ ἁπαξ-
απλῶς πάντας φωνῇ καὶ σχήματι καὶ τῶν
ὀμμάτων ταῖς προσβολαῖς, ἀρχομένης τε οἶμαι
τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ[1] ἐπὶ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ταῖς
ᾐόσιν, ἕως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἄσμενοι ξυνελέγησαν οἱ
διαφυγόντες. ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος πολλοῖς ἔπεσι διη-
γούμενος καὶ θεῶν ἀναπλάττων μάχας καὶ ἐπι-
κοσμῶν μύθοις τὴν ποίησιν δεκάζει τοὺς κριτὰς
καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει δικαίαν φέρειν καὶ ἀψευδῆ
ψῆφον. ὅστις δὲ ἐθέλει μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους B
ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπι-
φερομένων πλασμάτων, † ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ
ἀρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρωμάτων,†[2] Ἀρεοπαγίτης
ἔστω κριτής, καὶ οὐκ εὐλαβησόμεθα τὴν κρίσιν.
εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατιώτην ὁμολογοῦμεν
τὸν Πηλέως, ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀναπειθόμενοι.
κτείνει μὲν ἄνδρας εἴκοσι,

Ζωοὺς δ' ἐκ ποταμοῖο δυώδεκα λέξατο κούρους,
Τοὺς ἐξῆγε θύραζε τεθηπότας ἠύτε νεβρούς,
Ποινὴν Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος.

τοσαύτην μέντοι ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὰ πράγματα τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ἡ νίκη τὴν ῥοπήν, ὥστε οὐδὲ μείζονα C
φόβον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέβαλεν οὐδὲ ἀπογνῶναι ἐς
τὸ παντελὲς ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐποίει. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων

[1] προσβολαῖς—καὶ Wright προσβολαῖς.—[καὶ] Hertlein προσβολαῖς.—καὶ MSS.

[2] ὥσπερ—χρωμάτων Hertlein suggests ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ ὑπ' ἀργυρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρυσωμάτων "as though by gold or silver work in a picture."

rest of the poem also he evidently favours Achilles, and he sets the army there as mere spectators while he brings Achilles on to the field as the only invincible and resistless warrior, and makes him slay all whom he encounters and put every one of the foe to flight, simply by his voice and bearing and the glance of his eyes, both when the battle begins and on the banks of the Scamander, till the fugitives were glad to gather within the wall of the city. Many verses he devotes to relating this, and then he invents the battles of the gods, and by embellishing his poem with such tales he corrupts his critics and prevents us from giving a fair and honest vote. But if there be any one who refuses to be beguiled by the beauty of the words and the fictions that are imported into the poem . . [1]), then, though he is as strict as a member of the Areopagus, I shall not dread his decision. For we are convinced by the poem that the son of Peleus is a brave soldier. He slays twenty men; then

"He chose twelve youths alive out of the river and led them forth amazed like fawns to atone for the death of Patroclus, son of Menoitius." [2]

But his victory, though it had some influence on the fortunes of the Achaeans, was not enough to inspire any great fear in the enemy, nor did it make them wholly despair of their cause. On this point

[1] For eight words the text is hopelessly corrupt.
[2] *Iliad* 21. 27.

ἆρ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μάρτυρος δεησόμεθα τὸν Ὅμηρον παραλιπόντες; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τῶν ἐπῶν μνη- D
σθῆναι, ἃ πεποίηκεν ἐκεῖνος, ὁπηνίκα ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἦλθεν ὁ Πρίαμος φέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λύτρα; ἐρομένου γὰρ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑπὲρ[1] ὧν ἀφῖκτο, τοῦ τῆς Θέτιδος υἱέος

Ποσσῆμαρ μέμονας κτερεϊζέμεν Ἕκτορα δῖον,

τα τε ἄλλα διέξεισι καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου φησί·

Τῇ δὲ δυωδεκάτῃ πολεμίξομεν,[2] εἴπερ ἀνάγκη.

οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλειν ὀκνεῖ μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν 62
τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἀγεννὴς καὶ δειλὸς τύραννος ὄρη τε ὑψηλὰ προυτείνετο τῆς αὑτοῦ φυγῆς καὶ ἐξοικοδομήσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρούρια οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητι πιστεύει, ἀλλὰ ἱκετευει συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. καὶ ἔτυχεν ἄν,[3] εἴπερ ἦν ἄξιος καὶ μὴ ἐφωράθη πολλάκις ἄπιστος καὶ θρασύς, ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις προστιθεὶς ἀδικήματα.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ μὴ δόξῃ τις τῶν διηγουμένων προσέχειν ἐθέλοι μηδὲ ἔπεσιν εὖ B
πεποιημένοις, ἐς αὐτὰ δὲ ὁρᾶν τὰ ἔργα, κρινέτω. ἑξῆς δ', εἰ βούλεσθε τὴν Αἴαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀντιθεῖναι μάχην τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἔργοις· ᾗ δὴ Μυγδόνιος ποταμῶν κάλλιστος τὴν αὑτοῦ προσ-

[1] [τὰς] ὑπὲρ Reiske, Hertlein.
[2] πολεμίξομεν Cobet, MSS., πολεμίζομεν V, Hertlein, πτολεμίζομεν M.
[3] ἂν Reiske adds.

shall we set Homer aside and demand some other witness? Or is it not enough to recall the verses in which he describes how Priam came to the ships bringing his son's ransom? For after he had made the truce for which he had come, and the son of Thetis asked:

"For how many days dost thou desire to make a funeral for noble Hector?"

He told him not only that, but concerning the war he said:

"And on the twelfth day we will fight again, if fight we must."[1]

You see he does not hesitate to announce that war will be resumed after the armistice. But the unmanly and cowardly usurper sheltered his flight behind lofty mountains and built forts on them; nor did he trust even to the strength of the position, but begged for forgiveness. And he would have obtained it had he deserved it, and not proved himself on many occasions both treacherous and insolent, by heaping one crime on another.

And now with regard to the battle, if there be anyone who declines to heed either the opinion expressed in my narrative or those admirably written verses, but prefers to consider the actual facts, let him judge from those. Accordingly we will next, if you please, compare the fighting of Ajax in defence of the ships and of the Achaeans at the wall with the Emperor's achievements at that famous city. I mean the city to which the Mygdonius, fairest of rivers, gives its name, though it has also been named after

[1] *Iliad* 24. 657.

τίθησι φήμην, οὔσῃ δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως
ἐπωνύμῳ· γέγονε δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτερον ὄνομα βάρ-
βαρον, σύνηθες τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς
τῇδε βαρβάρους ἐπιμιξίας· ταύτην δὴ τὴν πόλιν
στρατὸς ἀμήχανος πλήθει Παρθυαίων ξὺν Ἰνδοῖς C
περιέσχεν, ὁπηνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον βαδίζειν
προὔκειτο· καὶ ὅπερ Ἡρακλεῖ φασιν ἐπὶ τὸ
Λερναῖον ἰόντι θηρίον συνενεχθῆναι, τὸν θαλάττιον
καρκίνον, τοῦτο ἦν ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς
ἠπείρου Τίγρητα διαβὰς καὶ περιτειχίζων[1] τὴν
πόλιν χώμασιν· εἶτα εἰς ταῦτα δεχόμενος τὸν
Μυγδόνιον λίμνην ἀπέφηνε τὸ περὶ τῷ ἄστει
χωρίον καὶ ὥσπερ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ συνεῖχε τὴν
πόλιν, μικρὸν ὑπερεχουσῶν καὶ ὑπερφαινομένων D
τῶν ἐπάλξεων. ἐπολιόρκει δὲ ναῦς τε ἐπάγων καὶ
ἐπὶ νεῶν μηχανάς· καὶ ἦν οὐχ ἡμέρας ἔργον,
μηνῶν δὲ οἶμαι σχεδόν τι τεττάρων. οἱ δὲ ἐν
τῷ τείχει συνεχῶς ἀπεκρούοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους
καταπιμπράντες τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς πυρφόροις·
ναῦς δὲ ἀνεῖλκον πολλὰς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους, ἄλλαι
δὲ κατεάγνυντο ὑπὸ ῥώμης τῶν ἀφιεμένων ὀργάνων
καὶ βάρους τῶν βελῶν. ἐφέροντο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς 63
λίθοι ταλάντων ὁλκῆς Ἀττικῶν ἑπτά. καὶ
ἐπειδὴ συχναῖς ἡμέραις ταῦτ᾽ ἐδρᾶτο, ῥήγνυται
μέρος τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων εἰσρεῖ[2]
πλήμμυρα, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τοῦ τείχους μέρος οὐκ
ἔλασσον πήχεων ἑκατὸν συγκατηνέχθη.

Ἐνταῦθα κοσμεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν τὸν Περσικὸν

[1] περιτειχίζων Hertlein suggests, cf. 27 B, ἐπιτειχίζων MSS.
[2] εἰσρεῖ Cobet, ἐκρεῖ MSS., Hertlein.

King Antiochus. Then, too, it has another, a barbarian name[1] which is familiar to many of you from your intercourse with the barbarians of those parts. This city was besieged by an overwhelming number of Parthians with their Indian allies, at the very time when the Emperor was prepared to march against the usurper. And like the sea crab which they say engaged Heracles in battle when he sallied forth to attack the Lernaean monster,[2] the King of the Parthians, crossing the Tigris from the mainland, encircled the city with dykes. Then he let the Mygdonius flow into these, and transformed all the space about the city into a lake, and completely hemmed it in as though it were an island, so that only the ramparts stood out and showed a little above the water. Then he besieged it by bringing up ships with siege-engines on board. This was not the work of a day, but I believe of almost four months. But the defenders within the wall continually repulsed the barbarians by burning the siege-engines with their fire-darts. And from the wall they hauled up many of the ships, while others were shattered by the force of the engines when discharged and the weight of the missiles. For some of the stones that were hurled on to them weighed as much as seven Attic talents.[3] When this had been going on for many days in succession, part of the dyke gave way and the water flowed in in full tide, carrying with it a portion of the wall as much as a hundred cubits long.[4]

Thereupon he arrayed the besieging army in the

[1] Nisibis.

[2] Sapor becomes the ally of Magnentius as the crab was the ally of the Hydra in the conflict with Heracles.

[3] 400 lbs. in all. [4] 150 feet.

τρόπον. διασώζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἀπομιμοῦνται τὰ Περσικὰ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Παρθυαῖοι νομίζεσθαι, Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιούμενοι. B ταῦτά τοι καὶ στολῇ Μηδικῇ χαίρουσι. καὶ ἐς μάχας ἔρχονται ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις ὅπλοις τε ἀγαλλόμενοι τοιούτοις καὶ ἐσθήμασιν ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἁλουργέσι. σοφίζονται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀφεστάναι Μακεδόνων, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχαίου βασιλείαν προσήκουσαν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξην μιμούμενος ἐπί τινος χειροποιήτου καθῆστο γηλόφου, προῆγε[1] δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ξὺν τοῖς θηρίοις. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν εἵπετο, καὶ ἔφερεν ἐκ σιδήρου πύργους τοξοτῶν πλήρεις. ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἱππεῖς οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ οἱ τοξόται, ἕτερον C ἱππέων πλῆθος ἀμήχανον. τὸ πεζὸν γάρ σφιν ἀχρεῖον ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ καθέστηκεν οὔτε ἐντίμου μετέχον τάξεως οὔτε ὂν σφιν ἐν χρείᾳ, πεδιάδος οὔσης καὶ ψιλῆς τῆς χώρας ὁπόσην νέμονται. ἔοικε γὰρ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀξιοῦσθαι. ὡς οὖν ἀχρεῖον τῇ φύσει οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν νόμων πολυωρίας ἀξιοῦται. συνέβη δὲ οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὴν Κρήτην καὶ Καρίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ μυρίοις ἔθνεσι τὰ D περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατασκευασθῆναι. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ Θετταλῶν οὖσα πεδιὰς ἱππεῦσιν ἐναγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμμελετᾶν ἐπιτήδειος ἐφάνη. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ἅτε ἐς ἀντιπάλους παντοδαποὺς καταστάντα, εὐβουλίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ περιγενόμενα,

[1] προῆγε Hertlein suggests, προσῆγε MSS.

Persian fashion. For they keep up and imitate Persian customs, I suppose, because they do not wish to be considered Parthians, and so pretend to be Persians. That is surely the reason why they prefer the Persian manner of dress. And when they march to battle they look like them, and take pride in wearing the same armour, and raiment adorned with gold and purple. By this means they try to evade the truth and to make it appear that they have not revolted from Macedon, but are merely resuming the empire that was theirs of old. Their king, therefore, imitating Xerxes, sat on a sort of hill that had been artificially made, and his army advanced accompanied by their beasts.[1] These came from India and carried iron towers full of archers. First came the cavalry who wore cuirasses, and the archers, and then the rest of the cavalry in huge numbers. For infantry they find useless for their sort of fighting and it is not highly regarded by them. Nor, in fact, is it necessary to them, since the whole of the country that they inhabit is flat and bare. For a military force is naturally valued or slighted in proportion to its actual usefulness in war. Accordingly, since infantry is, from the nature of the country, of little use to them, it is granted no great consideration in their laws. This happened in the case of Crete and Caria as well, and countless nations have a military equipment like theirs. For instance the plains of Thessaly have proved suitable for cavalry engagements and drill. Our state, on the other hand, since it has had to encounter adversaries of all sorts, and has won its pre-eminence by good judgment combined with good luck, has naturally

[1] Elephants.

εἰκότως ἐς ἅπαν εἶδος ὅπλων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς ἄλλης[1] ἡρμόσθη.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ ταῖς τῶν ἐπαίνων τέχναις καθάπερ νόμοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μέν τί σοι προσήκει καὶ τούτων, ἐν καιρῷ σκέψομαι, τά 64
γε μὴν ὀνείδη τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπολύομαι. φημὶ γὰρ ὡς οὔτε ἐγὼ τῶν τεχνῶν μεταποιοῦμαι οὔτε ὅστις μή τισιν ὡμολόγησεν ἐμμενεῖν ἀδικεῖ μὴ φυλάττων ταῦτα· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν εὐπρεπῶν παραιτήσεων. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον μακρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν δέον ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως. ἐπαναβῶμεν οὖν αὖθις εἰς ἴχνος καὶ ὅθεν ἐξέβην.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ Παρθυαῖοι κοσμηθέντες ὅπλοις B
αὐτοί τε καὶ ἵπποι ξὺν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς θηρίοις προσῆγον τῷ τείχει, λαμπροὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα ἀναρπασόμενοι,[2] καὶ ἐδέδοτό σφιν τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν τὸ σημεῖον, ὠθοῦντο ξύμπαντες, αὐτός τις ἐθέλων πρῶτος ἐσαλέσθαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἴχεσθαι φέρων τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κλέος· εἶναί τε οὐδὲν ἐτόπαζον δέος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομενεῖν σφῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν τοὺς ἔνδον. Παρθυαίοις μὲν τοσοῦτον C
περιῆν ἐλπίδος. οἱ δὲ πυκνήν τε εἶχον τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεστῶτος ὁπόσον ἦν ἀχρεῖον πλῆθος

[1] παρασκευῆς ἄλλης Cobet, MSS., παρασκευῆς (ἄλλοτε) ἄλλης Reiske, Hertlein.

[2] ἀναρπασόμενοι Hertlein suggests, διαρπασάμενοι V, διαρπασόμενοι MSS.

adapted itself to every kind of armour, and to a varying equipment.

But perhaps those who watch over the rules for writing panegyric as though they were laws, may say that all this is irrelevant to my speech. Now whether what I have been saying partly concerns you I shall consider at the proper time. But at any rate I can easily clear myself from the accusation of such persons. For I declare that I make no claim to be an expert in their art, and one who has not agreed to abide by certain rules has the right to neglect them. And it may be that I shall prove to have other convincing excuses besides. But it is not worth while to interrupt my speech and digress from my theme any longer when there is no need. Let me, then, retrace my steps to the point at which I digressed.

Now when the Parthians advanced to attack the wall in their splendid accoutrements, men and horses, supported by the Indian elephants, it was with the utmost confidence that they would at once take it by assault. And at the signal to charge they all pressed forward, since every man of them was eager to be the first to scale the wall [1] and win the glory of that exploit. They did not imagine that there was anything to fear, nor did they believe that the besieged would resist their assault. Such was the exaggerated confidence of the Parthians. The besieged, however, kept their phalanx unbroken at the gap in the wall, and on the portion of the wall that was still intact they posted all the non-

[1] *Iliad* 12. 438; cf. 71 B

ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέστησαν ἀναμίξαντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι προσήλαυνον καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀφίετο βέλος, βεβαιοτέραν εἶχον τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κατ' ἄκρας αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔπαιον μάστιξι καὶ ἤμασσον τὰς πλευρὰς τοῖς κέν-
τροις, ἕως ἐποιήσαντο σφῶν κατὰ νώτου τὰ D
χώματα· ἐπεποίητο δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνα πρότερον πρὸς τὸ ἐπέχειν τοῦ Μυγδονίου τὰς ἐκροάς, ἰλύς τε ἦν περὶ τὸ χωρίον εὖ μάλα βαθεῖα †οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ παντελῶς ὄντος ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης[1]† καὶ διὰ τὸ πίειραν εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ στέγειν δύνασθαι φύσει τὰς λιβάδας. ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ παλαιὸν ἔρυμα τῇ πόλει τάφρος εὐρεῖα, καὶ ἐν
αὐτῇ βαθύτερον συνειστήκει τέλμα. ἁπτομένων 65
δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ταύτης καὶ διαβαίνειν πειρωμένων, ἐπεξῇσαν[2] πολλοὶ μὲν ἔνδοθεν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔβαλλον τοῖς λίθοις· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος, φυγῇ δὲ ἔτρεπον τοὺς ἵππους ξύμπαντες, τῷ μόνον ἐθέλειν καὶ δηλοῦν τὴν γνώμην διὰ τοῦ σχήματος. ἐπιστρεφόντων γὰρ ἔπιπτον εὐθέως καὶ κατέφερον τοὺς ἱππέας· βαρεῖς δὲ ὄντες τοῖς ὅπλοις μᾶλλον
ἐνείχοντο τῷ τέλματι. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα γίνεται B
φόνος, ὅσος οὔπω πρόσθεν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ τοιαύτῃ[3] γέγονεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἱππέων ὧδε ἐπεπράγει, τῶν ἐλεφάντων πειρῶνται, καταπλήξεσθαι μᾶλλον

[1] οὐδὲ—ὕλης corrupt. Reiske suggests οὐδὲ αὐτὸ παντελῶς ὂν ξηρὸν ὑπό τε ὕλης. ἕλης V, ὕλης MSS.

[2] ἐπεξῇσαν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεξῄεσαν MSS., V omits.

[3] τοιαύτῃ Reiske suggests, τοσαύτῃ MSS., Hertlein.

combatants in the city, and distributed among them an equal number of soldiers. But when the enemy rode up and not a single missile was hurled at them from the wall, their confidence that they would completely reduce the city was strengthened, and they whipped and spurred on their horses so that their flanks were covered with blood, until they had left the dykes behind them. These dykes they had made earlier to dam the mouth of the Mygdonius, and the mud thereabouts was very deep. †In fact there was hardly any ground at all because of the wood,[1]† and because the soil was so rich, and of the sort that conceals springs under its surface. Moreover there was in that place a wide moat that had been made long ago to protect the town, and had become filled up with a bog of considerable depth. Now when the enemy had already reached this moat and were trying to cross it, a large force of the besieged made a sally, while many others hurled stones from the walls. Then many of the besiegers were slain, and all with one accord turned their horses in flight, though only from their gestures could it be seen that flight was what they desired and intended. For, as they were in the act of wheeling them about, their horses fell and bore down the riders with them. Weighed down as they were by their armour, they floundered still deeper in the bog, and the carnage that ensued has never yet been paralleled in any siege of the same kind.

Since this fate had overtaken the cavalry, they tried the elephants, thinking that they would be more

[1] The text here is corrupt.

οἰόμενοι τῷ ξένῳ τῆς μάχης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων διέφθαρτο, ὡς μὴ καθορᾶν βαρύτερον μὲν ὂν ἵππου τὸ θηρίον, φέρον δὲ ἄχθος οὐχ ἵππων δυοῖν ἢ πλειόνων, ἁμαξῶν δὲ οἶμαι συχνῶν, τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ σιδηροῦν C πύργον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα πρὸς τὸ χωρίον χειροποίητον γεγονὸς τέλμα κωλύματα, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ φανερά· ὅθεν οὐκ εἰκὸς εἰς μάχην ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἔνδον παρασκευάζεσθαι. προσῆγον δὲ ἐν τάξει μέτρον διεστῶτες ἀλλήλων ἴσον, καὶ ἐῴκει τείχει τῶν Παρθυαίων ἡ φάλαγξ· τὰ μὲν θηρία[1] τοὺς πύργους φέροντα, τῶν ὁπλιτῶν δὲ ἀναπληρούντων τὰ ἐν μέσῳ. ταχθέντες δὲ οὕτως οὐ μέγα ὄφελος ἦσαν τῷ βαρβάρῳ· παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν τοῖς D ἐκ τοῦ τείχους θεωμένοις. ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο διακορεῖς οἱονεὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ πολυτελοῦς πομπῆς πεμπομένης, λίθους ἐκ μηχανῶν ἀφιέντες καὶ τόξοις βάλλοντες ἐς τὴν τειχομαχίαν προυκαλοῦντο τοὺς βαρβάρους. φύσει δὲ ὄντες εἰς ὀργὴν ὀξύρροποι καὶ δεινὸν ποιούμενοι τὸ γέλωτα ὀφλῆσαι καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν ὀπίσω τὴν παρασκευὴν ἄπρακτον, ἐγκελευομένου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως, προσῆγον τῷ τείχει καὶ ἐβάλλοντο πυκνοῖς[2] τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς τοξεύμασι· καὶ ἐτρώθη τῶν θηρίων τινὰ καὶ 66 ἀπέθανεν κατενεχθέντα[3] ὑπὸ τῆς ἰλύος. δείσαντες δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω πάλιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[1] τὰ μὲν θηρία corrupt, Hertlein.
[2] πυκνοῖς Cobet, πυκνῶς MSS., Hertlein.
[3] κατενεχθεντα Reiske, εἰσενεχθέντα MSS., Hertlein.

likely to overawe us by that novel sort of fighting. For surely they had not been stricken so blind as not to see that an elephant is heavier than a horse, since it carries the load, not of two horses or several, but what would, I suppose, require many waggons, I mean archers and javelin men and the iron tower besides. All this was a serious hindrance, considering that the ground was artificially made and had been converted into a bog. And this the event made plain. Hence it is probable that they were not advancing to give battle, but rather were arrayed to overawe the besieged. They came on in battle line at equal distances from one another, in fact the phalanx of the Parthians resembled a wall, with the elephants carrying the towers, and hoplites filling up the spaces between. But drawn up as these were they were of no great use to the barbarian. It was, however, a spectacle which gave the defenders on the wall great pleasure and entertainment, and when they had gazed their fill at what resembled a splendid and costly pageant in procession, they hurled stones from their engines, and, shooting their arrows, challenged the barbarians to fight for the wall. Now the Parthians are naturally quick-tempered, and they could not endure to incur ridicule and lead back this imposing force without striking a blow; so by the king's express command they charged at the wall and received a continuous fire of stones and arrows, while some of the elephants were wounded, and perished by sinking into the mud. Thereupon, in fear for the others also, they led them back to the camp.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ὁ Παρθυαῖος ἥμαρτε τῆς πείρας, τοὺς τοξότας διελὼν εἰς μοίρας διαδέχεσθαί τε ἀλλήλους κελεύει καὶ συνεχῶς βάλλειν πρὸς τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, ὡς μὴ δυνηθεῖεν ἀποικοδομῆσαι καὶ ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν πόλιν· οὕτω γὰρ αἱρήσειν λαθὼν ἢ βιασάμενος τῷ πλήθει τοὺς ἔνδον ἤλπιζε. ἀλλὰ μάταιον γὰρ[1] B ἀπέφηνεν ἡ βασιλέως παρασκευὴ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ διανόημα. κατὰ νώτου γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἕτερον τεῖχος εἰργάζετο· ὁ δὲ ᾤετο τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἴχνεσιν ἐς τὰ θεμέλια χρωμένους μέλλειν ἔτι. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ὅλῃ καὶ νυκτὶ συνεχῶς ἐργασαμένων ἔστε ἐπὶ τέτταρας πήχεις ὕψους ἠγείρετο, καὶ ἕωθεν ὤφθη λαμπρὸν καὶ νεουργές, ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἀκαρῆ χρόνον ἐνδιδόντων, διαδεχομένων δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀκοντιζόντων ἐς τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τῷ κειμένῳ τείχει, τοῦτο ἐξέπληξε δεινῶς τὸν βάρβαρον. οὐ μὴν C ἀπῆγεν εὐθὺς τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλ' αὖθις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆται παλαίσμασι. δράσας δὲ οἶμαι καὶ παθὼν παραπλήσια ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὀπίσω, πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δήμους ἀπολέσας, πολλὰ δὲ ἀναλώσας περὶ τοῖς χώμασι καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ σώματα, σατράπας δὲ ἀνελὼν συχνούς, D ἄλλον ἄλλο ἐπαιτιώμενος, τὸν μὲν ὅτι μὴ καρτερῶς ἐπεποίητο τὰ χώματα, εἶξε δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλύσθη παρὰ τῶν ποταμιων ῥευμάτων, τὸν δὲ ὡς φαύλως

[1] ἀλλὰ μάταιον γὰρ Hertlein suggests, μάταιον δ' ἄρα Reiske, μάταιον γὰρ MSS.

Having failed in this second attempt as well, the Parthian king divided his archers into companies and ordered them to relieve one another and to keep shooting at the breach in the wall, so that the beseiged could not rebuild it and thus ensure the safety of the town. For he hoped by this means either to take it by surprise, or by mere numbers to overwhelm the garrison. But the preparations that had been made by the Emperor made it clear that the barbarian's plan was futile. For in the rear of the hoplites a second wall was being built, and while he thought they were using the old line of the wall for the foundations and that the work was not yet in hand, they had laboured continuously for a whole day and night till the wall had risen to a height of four cubits. And at daybreak it became visible, a new and conspicuous piece of work. Moreover the besieged did not for a moment yield their ground, but kept relieving one another and shooting their javelins at those who were attacking the fallen wall, and all this terribly dismayed the barbarian. Nevertheless he did not at once lead off his army but employed the same efforts over again. But when he had done as before, and as before suffered repulse, he did lead his army back, having lost many whole tribes through famine, and squandered many lives over the dykes and in the siege. He had also put to death many satraps one after another, on various charges, blaming one of them because the dykes had not been made strong enough, but gave way and were flooded by the waters of the river, another because when

ἀγωνισάμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλας ἐπάγων αἰτίας ἔκτεινεν. ἔστι γὰρ εὖ μάλα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βαρβάροις σύνηθες ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τὰς αἰτίας τῆς δυσπραγίας ἀποσκευάζεσθαι, ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε δράσας ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ ἄγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ἐκ τούτου, καὶ οὔτε ὅρκων οὔτε συνθηκῶν ἐδέησεν, ἀγαπᾷ δὲ οἴκοι μένων, εἰ 67
μὴ στρατεύοιτο βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ δίκην ἀπαιτοίη τοῦ θράσους καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας.

Ἆρά γε ἄξιον ταύτην παραβαλεῖν τὴν μάχην ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τοῦ τείχους; ἀθρεῖτε δὲ ὧδε τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὸ διάφορον λογίζεσθε. Ἑλλήνων μὲν Αἴαντε καὶ οἱ Λαπίθαι καὶ Μενεσθεὺς τοῦ τείχους εἶξαν καὶ περιεῖδον τὰς πύλας συντριβομένας ὑφ' Ἕκτορος καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἐπιβεβηκότα τὸν Σαρπηδόνα. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ διαρ- B
ραγέντος αὐτομάτως τοῦ τείχους ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο Παρθυαίους ξὺν Ἰνδοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἐπιβὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων ὥσπερ ἐρύματος πεζὸς διαγωνίζεται, οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐναυμάχουν, τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐπάλξεων εἶξαν καὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐνίκων ναυσί τε ἐπιόντας καὶ πεζῇ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὖ ποιῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα καὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, ὑπηνέχθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτό γέ φασι τῶν ἔργων C

fighting under the walls he had not distinguished himself; and others he executed for one offence or another. This is in fact the regular custom among the barbarians in Asia, to shift the blame of their ill-success on to their subjects. Thus then the king acted on that occasion, and afterwards took himself off. And from that time he has kept the peace with us and has never asked for any covenant or treaty, but he stays at home and is thankful if only the Emperor does not march against him and exact vengeance for his audacity and folly.

And now am I justified in comparing this battle with those that were fought in defence of the Greek ships and the wall? Observe the following points of similarity, and note also the difference. Of the Greeks the two Ajaxes, the Lapithae and Menestheus fell back from the wall and looked on helplessly while the gates were battered down by Hector, and Sarpedon scaled the battlements. But our garrison did not give way even when the wall fell in of itself, but they fought and won, and repulsed the Parthians, aided though these were by their Indian allies. Then again Hector went up on to the ships and fought from their decks on foot, and as though from behind a rampart, whereas our garrison first had to fight a naval battle from the walls, and finally, while Hector and Sarpedon had to retreat from the battlements and the ships, the garrison routed not only the forces that brought ships to the attack but the land force as well. Now it is appropriate that by some happy chance my speech should have alluded to Hector and Sarpedon, and to what I may call the very crown of their achievements, I mean the de-

τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὴν καθαίρεσιν τοῦ τείχους, ὃ[1] μιᾷ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Ἀχαιούς φησι, τοῦ Πυλίου δημαγωγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ξυμπείθοντος, ἄρρηκτον νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν εἶλαρ κατασκευάσασθαι.

Σχεδὸν γάρ μοι τοῦτο φαίνεται τὸ γενναιότατον τῶν ἔργων Ἕκτορος, καὶ οὐχὶ Γλαύκου τέχνης[2] συνεῖναι οὐδὲ σοφωτέρας ἐπινοίας δεῖται, Ὁμήρου σαφῶς διδάσκοντος, ὡς Ἀχιλλέως μὲν φανέντος

ἐδύσετο οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν.

Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐπικειμένου καὶ ἐς τὸ D
τεῖχος καταδιώξαντος Ἕκτορα ὕπαγε Ζεύς, ἵνα ἀποσώζοιτο καθ' ἡσυχίαν. προσπαίζων δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ καταγελῶν τῆς δειλίας ὑπὸ τῇ φηγῷ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἤδη καθημένῳ τὴν Ἶριν ἥκειν ἔφη παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς φράζουσαν

Ὄφρ' ἂν μέν κεν ὁρᾷς Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν
Θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν, ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν, 6
Τόφρ' ὑπόεικε μαχης.

πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς οὕτως ἀγεννῆ καὶ δειλὰ παραινεῖν τὸν Δία, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ μαχομένῳ, ξὺν πολλῇ δὲ ἑστῶτι ῥᾳστώνῃ; καὶ ὁπηνίκα δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τυδέως, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πολλὴν ἐκ τοῦ κρανους ἀναπτούσης φλόγα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινε, φεύγειν δὲ ἠνάγκαζε
τοὺς ὑπομένοντας, πόρρω τε ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέ- B
μου, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπομένων ὀνείδη ἀπέγνω μὲν κρατοῦσι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀντιστῆναι, εὐπρεπῆ δὲ ποιεῖται τὴν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ πορείαν, ὡς τῇ μητρὶ

[1] ὃ Reiske adds.
[2] τέχνης Reiske, τέχνη cant. Hertlein, τέχνῃ MSS.

struction of that wall which Homer tells us the Achaeans built only the day before, on the advice of the princely orator[1] of Pylos "to be an impregnable bulwark for the ships and the army."[2]

For that I think was almost the proudest of Hector's achievements, and he did not need the craft of Glaucus to help him, or any wiser plan, for Homer says plainly that the moment Achilles appeared

> "He shrank back into the crowd of men."[3]

Again, when Agamemnon attacked the Trojans and pursued them to the wall, Zeus stole away[4] Hector so that he might escape at his leisure. And the poet is mocking him and ridiculing his cowardice when he says that as he was sitting under the oak-tree, being already near the gate, Iris came to him with this message from Zeus:

> "So long as thou seest Agamemnon, shepherd of the host, raging among the foremost fighters and cutting down the ranks of men, so long do thou keep back from the fight."[5]

For is it likely that Zeus would give such base and cowardly advice, especially to one who was not even fighting, but was standing there very much at his ease? And while the son of Tydeus, on whose head Athene kindled a mighty flame, was slaying many and forcing to flight all who stayed to encounter him, Hector stood far away from the battle. Though he had to endure many taunts, he despaired of making a stand against the Achaeans, but made a specious excuse for going to the city to advise his

[1] Nestor. [2] *Iliad* 14. 56. [3] *Iliad* 20. 379.
[4] *Iliad* 11. 163. [5] *Iliad* 11. 202.

παραινέσων ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν μετὰ τῶν
Τρωάδων. καίτοι εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἱκέτευε πρὸ τοῦ
νεὼ ξὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, πολὺν ἂν[1] εἶχε λόγον· προσ-
ήκει γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα
καθάπερ ἱερέα καὶ προφήτην θεραπεύειν ἀεὶ ξὺν
κόσμῳ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηδὲν ὀλιγωρεῖν μηδὲ ἑτέρῳ C
μᾶλλον προσήκειν ἡγεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀν-
άξιον αὐτοῦ νομίζοντα τὸ διακόνημα.

Οἶμαι γὰρ τὴν Πλάτωνος μικρὰ παρατρέψας
λέξιν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι, ὡς ὅτῳ ἀνδρί, μᾶλλον
δὲ βασιλεῖ, ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς
εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις
αἰωρεῖται, ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων πλανᾶ-
σθαι ἀναγκάζεται αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πράγματα, D
τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ζῆν. εἰ δὲ
ἐπιτρέποι μηδεὶς μεταγράφειν[2] μηδὲ ἐκτρέπειν
μηδὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τοὔνομα, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἱερὸν
ἀρχαῖον κελεύοι μένειν ἐᾶν ἀκίνητον, οὐδὲ οὕτως
ἄλλο τι διανοεῖσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ἐροῦμεν. τὸ γὰρ
εἰς ἑαυτὸν[3] οὐ δήπου τὸ σῶμά φησιν οὐδὲ τὰ
χρήματα οὐδὲ εὐγένειαν καὶ δόξαν πατέρων· ταῦτα
γὰρ αὐτοῦ μέν τινος οἰκεῖα κτήματα, οὐ μήν ἐστι
ταῦτα αὐτός· ἀλλὰ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν,[4] φησί, καὶ
τὸ ὅλον τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν θεόν·[5] ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑτέρωθι 69

[1] ἂν Hertlein adds.
[2] μεταγράφειν Cobet, παραγράφειν MSS., Hertlein.
[3] εἰς ἑαυτὸν Cobet, cf. *Menexenus* 247 E σεαυτοῦ Hertlein, suggests ἑαυ-ὸν, σεαυτὸ V, σεαυτοῦ MSS.
[4] νοῦν—φρόνησιν Hertlein suggests, νῷ—φρονήσει MSS.
[5] τὸν—θεόν Hertlein suggests, τῷ—θεῷ MSS. Hertlein suspects corruption.

mother to propitiate Athene in company with the Trojan women. And yet if in person he had besought the goddess before the temple, with the elders, he would have had good reason for that, for it is only proper, in my opinion, that a general or king should always serve the god with the appointed ritual, like a priest or prophet, and not neglect this duty nor think it more fitting for another, and depute it as though he thought such a service beneath his own dignity.

For here I think I may without offence adapt slightly Plato's language where he says that the man, and especially the king, best equipped for this life is he who depends on God for all that relates to happiness, and does not hang in suspense on other men, whose actions, whether good or bad, are liable to force him and his affairs out of the straight path.[1] And though no one should allow me to paraphrase or change that passage or alter that word,[2] and though I should be told that I must leave it undisturbed like something holy and consecrated by time, even in that case I shall maintain that this is what that wise man meant. For when he says "depends on himself," assuredly he does not refer to a man's body or his property, or long descent, or distinguished ancestors. For these are indeed his belongings, but they are not the man himself; his real self is his mind, his intelligence, and, in a

[1] *Menexenus* 247 E.
[2] Plato says εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτηται "who depends on *himself*."

κυριώτατον ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς εἶδος ἔφη, καὶ ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸν δαίμονα θεὸς ἑκάστῳ δέδωκε, τοῦτο ὃ δή φαμεν οἰκεῖν μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπ᾽ ἄκρῳ τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ ξυγγένειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἴρειν. ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ ἔοικεν ἐπιτάττειν ἀνηρτῆσθαι χρῆναι ἑκάστῳ ἀνδρί, καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα βλάπτειν καὶ κωλύειν ἐθέλοντες πολλάκις ἐδυνήθησαν· ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰ παρείλοντο. τοῦτο δὲ B ἀκώλυτον μόνον καὶ ἀπαθές ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος τὸ κρεῖττον βλάπτεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐκεῖθεν ὁ λόγος. ἀλλ᾽ ἔοικα γὰρ καταφορτίζειν ὑμᾶς τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος λόγοις μικρὰ ἐπιπάττων τῶν ῥημάτων ὥσπερ ἁλῶν ἢ χρυσοῦ ψήγματος. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν[1] ἡδίω τὴν τροφήν, ὁ δὲ εὐπρεπῆ μᾶλλον παρέχει τὴν θέαν. ἀμφότερα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Πλάτωνος λόγοις· καὶ γὰρ αἰσθέσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἡδίους τῶν ἁλῶν C καὶ θρέψαι ψυχὴν ξὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ καθῆραι θαυμαστοί· ὥστε οὐκ ἀποκνητέον οὐδὲ εὐλαβητέον τὸν ψόγον, εἴ τις ἄρα καταμέμφοιτο τὴν ἀπληστίαν, καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ἐπιδραττόμεθα ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις οἱ λίχνοι τῶν ἐδωδίμων ἁπάντων, οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τὸ μὴ τῶν προκειμένων ἅψασθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔοικε συμβαίνειν, ἐπαίνους ἅμα καὶ δόγματα ᾄδειν καὶ πρὶν ἢ μετρίως ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ προτέρου λόγου D μέσον ὑποτεμομένοις φιλοσόφων ἐξηγεῖσθαι ῥή-

[1] [ὡς] ἡδίω Hertlein, μᾶλλον V adds.

word, the god that is in us. As to which, Plato elsewhere calls it "the supreme form of the soul that is within us," and says that "God has given it to each one of us as a guiding genius, even that which we say dwells in the summit of our body and raises us from earth towards our celestial affinity."[1] It is on this that he plainly says every man ought to depend, and not on other men, who have so often succeeded when they wish to harm and hinder us in other respects. Indeed it has happened before now that even without such a desire men have deprived us of certain of our possessions. But this alone cannot be hindered or harmed, since "Heaven does not permit the bad to injure what is better than itself."[2] This saying also is from Plato. But it may be that I am wearying you with these doctrines of his with which I sprinkle my own utterances in small quantities, as with salt or gold dust. For salt makes our food more agreeable, and gold enhances an effect to the eye. But Plato's doctrines produce both effects. For as we listen to them they give more pleasure than salt to the sense, and they have a wonderful power of sweetly nourishing and cleansing the soul. So that I must not hesitate or be cautious of criticism if someone reproaches me with being insatiable and grasping at everything, like persons at a banquet who, in their greed to taste every dish, cannot keep their hands from what is set before them.[3] For something of this sort seems to happen in my case when, in the same breath, I utter panegyric and philosophic theories, and, before I have done justice to my original theme, break off in the middle to expound the sayings of

[1] *Timaeus* 90 A. [2] *Apology* 30 D. [3] *Republic* 354 B.

σεις. πρὸς δὴ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταμεμφομένους εἴρηται μὲν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον καὶ αὖθις δὲ ἴσως λελέξεται.

Νῦν δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀποδόντες τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ
ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπανάγωμεν ὥσπερ οἱ προεκ-
θέοντες ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις. ἐλέγετο δ' οὖν ἐν τοῖς
πρόσθεν ὡς αὐτὸν μέν τινά φησι Πλάτων τὸν
νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν 70
κτῆσιν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς θαυμασίοις διώρισται
νόμοις. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἴ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν
λέγοι· "Ὅτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν ἀνήρ-
τηται πάντα τὰ ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ
ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός, ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων ἢ
καὶ πασχόντων πλανᾶσθαι ἀναγκάζεται, τούτῳ
ἄριστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ζῆν," οὐ παρα-
τρέπει τὴν λέξιν οὐδὲ παραποιεῖ, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ
ὀρθῶς καὶ ἑρμηνεύει· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἀντὶ B
τῆς αὐτοῦ λέξεως τὸν θεὸν παραλαμβάνει οὐκ
ἀδικεῖ. εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν δαίμονα, ὄντα μὲν
ἀπαθῆ τῇ φύσει καὶ θεῷ ξυγγενῆ, πολλὰ δὲ
ἀνατλάντα καὶ ὑπομείναντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ
σῶμα κοινωνίαν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν τε καὶ φθείρ-
εσθαι φαντασίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς[1] παρασχόντα,
τοῦ παντὸς ἐκεῖνος προΐσταται βίου τῷ γε
εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν αὐτὸν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀμιγοῦς γηίνῳ σώματι δια-
νοηθῆναι νοῦ, ὃν δὴ καὶ θεὸν εἶναί φαμεν καὶ C
αὐτῷ τὰς ἡνίας ἐπιτρέπειν τοῦ βίου χρῆναι
παραινοῦμεν πάντα ἰδιώτην τε[2] καὶ βασιλέα,

[1] τοῖς πολλοῖς Hertlein suggests, πολλοῖς MSS.
[2] ἰδιώτην τε Hertlein suggests, τε ἰδιώτην MSS.

philosophers. I have had occasion before now to reply to those who make such criticisms as these, and perhaps I shall have to do so again.

I will now, however, resume the thread of my discourse and go back to my starting-point, like those who, when a race is being started, run ahead out of the line. Well, I was saying, a moment ago, that Plato declares that a man's real self is his mind and soul, whereas his body and his estate are but his possessions This is the distinction made in that marvellous work, the Laws. And so if one were to go back to the beginning and say "That man is best equipped for life who makes everything that relates to happiness depend on his mind and intelligence and not on those outside himself who, by doing or faring well or ill force him out of the straight path," he is not changing or perverting the sense of the words, but expounds and interprets them correctly. And if for Plato's word "genius"[1] he substitutes the word "God" he has a perfect right to do so. For if Plato gives the control of our whole life to the presiding "genius" within us which is by nature unaffected by sensation and akin to God, but must endure and suffer much because of its association with the body, and therefore gives the impression to the crowd that it also is subject to sensation and death; and if he says that this is true of every man who wishes to be happy, what must we suppose is his opinion about pure intelligence unmixed with earthly substance, which is indeed synonymous with God? To this I say every man, whether he be a private citizen or a king, ought to entrust the reins of his life, and by a king I mean

[1] δαίμων, cf. 69 A.

τόν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ οὐ
νόθον οὐδὲ ψευδώνυμον, συνιέντα μὲν αὐτοῦ
καὶ αἰσθανόμενον διὰ συγγένειαν, ὑφιέμενον δὲ
αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα τῆς ἐπιμελείας
ὡς ἔμφρονα; ἀνόητον γὰρ καὶ μάλα αὔθαδες τὸ
μὴ καθάπαξ ἐς δύναμιν πείθεσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἀρετῆς D
ἐπιμελομένους· τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα χαίρειν
ὑποληπτέον τὸν θεόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐννόμου
θεραπείας ἀποστατέον οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τιμὴν
ὑπεροπτέον τοῦ κρείττονος, θετέον δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς
μοίρᾳ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν κρατίστην. ἔστι γὰρ
ὁσιότης τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔκγονος· αὕτη δὲ ὅτι
τοῦ θειοτέρου ψυχῆς εἴδους ἐστίν, οὐδένα λέληθε
τῶν ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειρίζονται.

Ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸν Ἕκτορα σπένδειν
μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν λύθρον· 71
ἠξιοῦμεν δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἄστυ ἰέναι μηδὲ ἀπολείπειν
τὴν μάχην μέλλοντά γε οὐ στρατηγοῦ καὶ
βασιλέως ἐπιτελεῖν ἔργον, διακόνου δὲ καὶ
ὑπηρέτου, Ἰδαίου τινὸς ἢ Ταλθυβίου τάξιν
ἀναληψόμενον. ἀλλ' ἔοικε γάρ, ὅπερ ἔφαμεν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πρόφασις εὐπρεπὴς[1] εἶναι φυγῆς
τοῦτο. καὶ γὰρ ὁπότε τῷ Τελαμωνίῳ ξυνί-
στατο πεισθεὶς τῇ φήμῃ τοῦ μάντεως, ἀσπασίως
διελύθη καὶ ἔδωκε δῶρα, τὸν θάνατον ἐκφυγὼν
ἄσμενος·[2] καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν, φεύγουσιν ἕπεται B

[1] εὐπρεπὴς Cobet, εὐπρεποῦς MSS., Hertlein suggests εὐπρεπὴς ἀπρεποῦς cf. 19 D.

[2] ἄσμενος Hertlein suggests, ἀσμένως MSS.

one who is really worthy of the name, and not counterfeit or falsely so called, but one who is aware of God and discerns his nature because of his affinity with him, and being truly wise bows to the divine authority and yields the supremacy to God. For it is senseless and arrogant indeed for those who cultivate virtue not to submit to God once and for all, as far as possible. For we must believe that this above all else is what God approves. Again, no man must neglect the traditional form of worship or lightly regard this method of paying honour to the higher power, but rather consider that to be virtuous is to be scrupulously devout. For Piety is the child of Justice, and that justice is a characteristic of the more divine type of soul is obvious to all who discuss such matters.

For this reason, then, while I applaud Hector for refusing to make a libation because of the bloodstains on his hands, he had, as I said, no right to go back to the city or forsake the battle, seeing that the task he was about to perform was not that of a general or of a king, but of a messenger and underling, and that he was ready to take on himself the office of an Idaeus or Talthybius. However, as I said at first, this seems to have been simply a specious excuse for flight. And indeed when he obeyed the bidding of the seer and fought a duel with the son of Telamon,[1] he was very ready to make terms and to give presents, and rejoiced to have escaped death. In short, as a rule, he is brave when in pursuit of the retreating foe, but in no case

[1] Ajax.

θρασέως, αἴτιος δέ ἐστιν οὐδαμοῦ νίκης καὶ τροπῆς, πλὴν ὅτε

πρῶτος ἐσήλατο τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν

ξὺν τῷ Σαρπηδόνι. πότερον οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες τηλικοῦτον ἔργον βασιλέως εὐλαβησόμεθα τὸν ἀγῶνα, μή ποτε ἄρα μικρὰ μεγάλοις καὶ φαῦλα σπουδῆς ἀξίοις μείζονος παρατιθέναι δόξωμεν, ἢ τολμήσομεν καὶ πρὸς τηλικοῦτον ἔργον ἁμιλλᾶσθαι; οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἦν τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ τῆς ᾐόνος, ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλῳ τῷ πρὸ μεσημβρίας χρόνῳ συντελεσθέν, ὁποίους ἡμῖν τοὺς χάρακας ἔννομον κατασκευάζεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄλπεων τεῖχος παλαιόν τε ἦν φρούριον, καὶ αὐτῷ χρῆται μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὁ τύραννος, ὥσπερ ἔρυμά τι νεουργὲς ἀποφήνας καὶ ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἀπολιπὼν ἐρρωμένων ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὡς πορρωτάτω πορεύεται, ἔμενε δὲ ἐν τῇ πλησίον πόλει. ἔστι δὲ Ἰταλῶν ἐμπόριον πρὸς θαλάττῃ μάλα εὔδαιμον καὶ πλούτῳ βρύον. φέρουσι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν φορτία Μυσοὶ καὶ Παίονες καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὁπόσοι τὴν μεσόγαιαν κατοικοῦσιν, Ἑνετοὶ δὲ οἶμαι τὸ πρόσθεν ὠνομάζοντο. νῦν δὲ ἤδη Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις ἐχόντων τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄνομα σώζουσι βραχείᾳ προσθήκῃ γράμματος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ σύμβολον χαρακτὴρ εἷς, ὀνομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὸν οὖ, καὶ χρῶνται ἀντὶ τοῦ βῆτα πολλάκις προσπνεύσεως οἶμαι τινὸς ἕνεκα καὶ ἰδιότητος τῆς

has he the credit of a victory or of turning the tide of battle, except when

"He was the first to leap within the wall of the Achaeans"[1]

together with Sarpedon. Shall I therefore shrink from competition as though I could not cite on behalf of the Emperor any such exploit, and must therefore avoid seeming to compare the trivial with the important and things of little account with what deserves more serious consideration, or shall I venture to enter the lists even against an achievement so famous? Now that wall was to protect the beach, and was a palisade such as we are wont to construct, and was completed in less than a morning. But the wall that was on the Alps was an ancient fort, and the usurper used it after his flight, converting it into a defence as strong as though it had been newly built, and he left there an ample garrison of seasoned troops. But he did not himself march all the way there, but remained in the neighbouring city.[2] This is a trading centre of the Italians on the coast, very prosperous and teeming with wealth, since the Mysians and Paeonians and all the Italian inhabitants of the interior procure their merchandise thence. These last used, I think, to be called Heneti in the past, but now that the Romans are in possession of these cities they preserve the original name, but make the trifling addition of one letter at the beginning of the word. Its sign is a single character[3] and they call it "oo," and they often use it instead of "b," to serve, I suppose, as a sort of breathing,

[1] *Iliad* 12. 438. [2] Aquileia. [3] "v".

γλώττης. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξύμπαν ἔθνος ὧδε ἐπονομάζεται· τῇ πόλει δὲ ἀετός, ὥς φασιν, οἰκιζομένῃ δεξιὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἱπτάμενος τὴν αὑτοῦ φήμην χαρίζεται. οἰκεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων· ὄρη δέ ἐστι ταῦτα παμμεγέθη[1] καὶ ἀπορρῶγες ἐν αὐτοῖς πέτραι, μόλις ἁμάξῃ μιᾷ καὶ ὀρικῷ ζεύγει τὴν ὑπέρβασιν βιαζομένοις ξυγχωροῦντα, ἀρχόμενα μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης, ἣν δὴ τὸν Ἰόνιον εἶναί φαμεν, ἀποτειχίζοντα δὲ τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν ἀπό τε Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ Τυρρηνὸν πέλαγος ἀναπαυόμενα. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης ἐκράτουν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τό τε τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἔθνος καὶ Λίγυές τινες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γαλατῶν οὐ φαύλη μοῖρα· τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα σφῶν ὀνόματα σώζειν οὐ διεκώλυσαν, τῷ κοινῷ δὲ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ξυγχωρεῖν κατηνάγκασαν. καὶ νῦν ὁπόσα μὲν εἴσω τῶν Ἄλπεων κατοικεῖται, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὸν Τυρρηνὸν καθήκοντα, ταύτῃ κοσμεῖται τῇ προσωνυμίᾳ· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄλπεων τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν Γαλάται νέμονται, καὶ Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον, ἵνα Ῥήνου τέ εἰσιν αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἴστρου πλησίον παρὰ τοῖς γείτοσι βαρβάροις· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἕω ταῦτα δὴ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὀχυροῦν ἔφαμεν, ἵναπερ ὁ τύραννος τὴν φρουρὰν κατεσκευάσατο. οὕτω δὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἁπανταχόθεν ὄρεσί τε συνεχομένης λίαν δυσβάτοις καὶ θαλάσσῃ τεναγώδει, ἅτε ἐσρεόντων ποταμῶν μυρίων, οἳ ποιοῦσιν ἕλος προσεοικὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἕλεσι, τὸ ξύμπαν

B C D

[1] παμμεγέθη Hertlein suggests, παμμιγῆ MSS.

and to represent some peculiarity of their pronunciation. The nation as a whole is called by this name, but at the time of the founding of the city an eagle from Zeus flew past on the right, and so bestowed on the place the omen derived from the bird.[1] It is situated at the foot of the Alps, which are very high mountains with precipices in them, and they hardly allow room for those who are trying to force their way over the passes to use even a single waggon and a pair of mules. They begin at the sea which we call Ionian, and form a barrier between what is now Italy and the Illyrians and Galatians, and extend as far as the Etruscan sea. For when the Romans conquered the whole of this country, which includes the tribe of the Heneti and some of the Ligurians and a considerable number of Galatians besides, they did not hinder them from retaining their ancient names, but compelled them to acknowledge the dominion of the Italian republic. And, in our day, all the territory that lies within the Alps and is bounded by the Ionian and the Etruscan seas has the honour of being called Italy. On the other side of the Alps, on the west, dwell the Galatians, and the Rhaetians to the north where the Rhine and the Danube have their sources hard by in the neighbouring country of the barbarians. And on the east, as I said, the Alps fortify the district where the usurper stationed his garrison. In this way, then, Italy is contained on all sides, partly by mountains that are very hard to cross, partly by a shallow sea into which countless streams empty and form a morass like the marshlands of Egypt. But the Emperor by his skill

[1] Because of this favourable omen the city was called Aquileia, "the city of the Eagle."

τῆς ἐκείνῃ θαλάττης πέρας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἔλαβε καὶ ἐβιάσατο τὴν ἄνοδον.

Καὶ ἵνα μὴ διατρίβειν δοκῶ αὖθίς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν δυσχωριῶν διαλεγόμενος, καὶ ὡς οὔτε στρατόπεδον ἦν οὐδὲ χάρακα πλησίον καταβαλέσθαι, οὔτε ἐπάγειν μηχανὰς καὶ ἑλεπόλεις, ἀνύδρου δεινῶς ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲ μικρὰς λιβάδας ἔχοντος τοῦ πέριξ χωρίου, 73
ἐπ' αὐτὴν εἶμι τὴν αἵρεσιν. καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀθρόως ἑλεῖν τοῦ λόγου, ὑπομνήσθητε τῆς τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πορείας, οἳ τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην κατῴκουν, ἐφ' ἣν οὐδὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἦν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις ἀναπτῆναι, ὅπως ἑάλω, καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμήσετε· πλὴν τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέβαλε πολλοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐξελὼν τὴν πέτραν, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος ἄρχων καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲ χιλίαρχον ἀποβαλὼν ἢ λοχαγόν τινα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ B
ὁπλίτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου, καθαρὰν καὶ ἄδακρυν περιεποιήσατο τὴν νίκην. Ἕκτωρ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ Σαρπηδὼν πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος κατέβαλον,[1] ἐντυχόντες δὲ ἀριστεύοντι Πατρόκλῳ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν κτείνεται, ὁ δὲ ἔφευγεν αἰσχρῶς οὐδὲ ἀνελόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φίλου. οὕτως οὐδενὶ ξὺν νῷ, ῥώμῃ δὲ μᾶλλον σωμάτων θρασυνόμενοι τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος πάροδον ἐτόλμων. βασιλεὺς δὲ οὗ μὲν ἀλκῆς ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ θυμοῦ χρῆται τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κρατεῖ ξὺν εὐβουλίᾳ,[2] οὗ δὲ μόνον C

[1] κατέβαλον Reiske, ἔβαλον MSS., Hertlein.
[2] ξὺν εὐβουλίᾳ Hertlein suggests, εὐβουλίᾳ Wyttenbach, ξυμβουλίᾳ MSS.

gained control of the whole of that boundary of the sea, and forced his way inland.

I will now relate how the city was actually taken, lest you should think I am wasting time by describing once more the difficulties of the ground, and how it was impossible to plant a camp or even a palisade near the city or to bring up siege-engines or devices for storming it, because the country all about was terribly short of water, and there were not even small pools. And if you wish to grasp the main point of my narrative in a few words, remember the Macedonian's[1] expedition against those Indians who lived on the famous rock[2] up to which not even the lightest birds could wing their flight, and how he took it by storm, and you will be content to hear no more from me. However I will add this merely, that Alexander in storming the rock lost many of his Macedonians, whereas our ruler and general lost not a single chiliarch or a captain, nay not even a legionary from the muster-roll, but achieved an unsullied and "tearless"[3] victory. Now Hector and Sarpedon, no doubt, hurled down many men from the wall, but when they encountered Patroclus in all his glory Sarpedon was slain near the ships, while Hector, to his shame, fled without even recovering the body of his friend. Thus without intelligence and emboldened by mere physical strength they ventured to attack the wall. But the Emperor, when strength and daring are required, employs force of arms and good counsel together, and so wins the day, but where good judgment alone is necessary it is by this

[1] Alexander.

[2] A hill fort in Sogdiana where the Bactrian chief Oxyartes made his last stand against Alexander, 327 B.C.

[3] cf. 77 B., Plutarch, *de Fort. Rom.* c. 4.

ἐδέησε γνώμης, ταύτῃ κυβερνᾷ καὶ κατεργάζεται πράγματα τοσαῦτα, ὁπόσα οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὁ σίδηρος ἐξελεῖν ἰσχύσειεν.[1]

Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ὁ λόγος φερόμενος ἥκει πάλαι ποθῶν τὴν ξύνεσιν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὴν εὐβουλίαν, ἀποδοτέον. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀλίγα πάλαι[2] διεληλύθαμεν· ὁπόσα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ἐκείνων ἔχειν ξυγγένειαν, D μεγάλα μικροῖς εἰκάζοντες, δι᾽ ὁμοιότητα διήλθομεν.[3] δῆλον δὲ ἀποβλέψαντι πρὸς τὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς μέγεθος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν περιουσίαν. τότε γὰρ ἥ τε Ἑλλὰς ἐκεκίνητο ξύμπασα καὶ Θρᾳκῶν μοῖρα καὶ Παιόνων τό τε τοῦ Πριάμου ξύμπαν ὑπήκοον,

Ὅσσον Λέσβος ἔσω Μάκαρος ἕδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
Καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων.

τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔθνη συνιόντα βασιλεῖ καὶ συμπολε- 7
μοῦντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους καταριθμεῖν μὴ λῆρος ᾖ καὶ φλυαρία περιττὴ καὶ λίαν ἀρχαῖον.[4] ὅσῳ δὲ μείζους αἱ συνιοῦσαι δυνάμεις, τοσούτῳ τὰ ἔργα προφέρειν εἰκός· ὥστε ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνων ὑπεραίρειν. πλήθει γε μὴν ποῦ ποτε ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ

[1] Hertlein suggests ἐκτελεῖν, but cf. *Phoenissae* 516, ἐξελεῖν MSS. οὐδ᾽ ἂν—ἰσχύσειεν Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—ἰσχύσει MSS.
[2] πάλαι Hertlein suggests, ἅπαντα MSS.
[3] διήλθομεν Reiske, δηλοῦμεν MSS., Hertlein.
[4] ἀρχαῖον Reiske, ἀρχαῖος Hertlein, ὕθλος λίαν ἀρχαῖος Cobet, ἀρχαῖος MSS.

that he steers his course, and thus achieves triumphs such as not even iron could ever avail to erase.[1]

But since my speech has of its own accord reached this point in its course and has long been eager to praise the Emperor's wisdom and wise counsel, I allow it to do so. And in fact I spoke briefly on this subject some time ago, and all the cases where there seemed to me to be any affinity between the heroes of Homer and the Emperor, I described because of that resemblance, comparing great things with small. And indeed if one considers the size of their armaments, the superiority of his forces also becomes evident. For in those days all Greece was set in motion,[2] and part of Thrace and Paeonia, and all the subject allies of Priam,

"All that Lesbos, the seat of Makar, contains within, and Phrygia on the north and the boundless Hellespont."[3]

But to try to count up the nations who lately marched with the Emperor and fought on his side in the war, would be idle talk, superfluous verbiage, and absurd simplicity. And it is natural that, in proportion as the armies are larger, their achievements are more important. So it follows of necessity that, in this respect as well, the Emperor's army surpassed Homer's heroes. In mere numbers, at any rate, at what point, I ask, could one justly compare them? For the Greeks fought all along for a single

[1] Julian refers to the triumph of Constantius over Vetranio, described in *Or.* 1. 31 foll. and echoes Euripides, *Phoenissae* 516, πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος | ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν· Themistius, *Or.* 2, 37 B quotes these verses to illustrate the same incident.

[2] Isocrates, *Evagoras* 65, *Panegyricus* 83.

[3] *Iliad* 24. 544.

μιᾶς ἐμάχοντο πόλεως ξυνεχῶς, καὶ οὔτε Τρῶες[1]
ἀπελάσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπικρατοῦντες ἠδύναντο,
οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἐξελεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέψαι τῶν
Πριαμιδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἴσχυον,
δεκαέτης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλώθη χρόνος. βασιλεῖ δὲ B
πολλοὶ μέν εἰσιν ἀγῶνες· καὶ γὰρ[2] ἀνεγράφη
Γερμανοῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμῶν, τά τε
ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι ζεύγματα καὶ τῆς Παρθυαίων
δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ἔλεγχος οὐ φαῦλος,
ὅτε οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀμῦναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθουμένῃ,
ἀλλὰ περιεῖδον ἅπασαν τμηθεῖσαν τὴν εἴσω
Τίγρητος καὶ Λύκου, τῶν γε μὴν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον C
πραχθέντων ὅ τε ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἔκπλους καὶ ἐς
Καρχηδόνα, Ἠριδανοῦ τε αἱ προκαταλήψεις τῶν
ἐκβολῶν ἁπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις
ἀφελόμεναι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τρίτον πάλ-
αισμα περὶ ταῖς Κοττίαις Ἄλπεσιν, ὃ δὴ βασιλεῖ
μὲν παρέσχεν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδεᾶ
τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ ἡττηθέντα δίκην
ἐπιθεῖναι δικαίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐξειργασμένων
πάνυ ἀξίαν κατηνάγκασε.

Τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέως ἔργων ἐν βραχεῖ D
διεληλύθαμεν, οὔτε κολακείᾳ προστιθέντες καὶ
αὔξειν ἐπιχειροῦντες τυχὸν οὐδενὸς διαφέροντα
τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε πόρρωθεν ἕλκοντες καὶ βιαζό-
μενοι τῶν ἔργων τὰς ὁμοιότητας, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς

[1] Τρῶες Hertlein adds.
[2] καὶ γὰρ Horkel, lacuna Hertlein; the inappropriate verb ἀναγράφω = "register, record," indicates corruption.

city, and the Trojans when they prevailed were not able to drive away the Greeks, nor were the Greeks strong enough, when they won a victory, to destroy and overthrow the power and the royal sway of the house of Priam, and yet the time they spent over it was ten years long. But the Emperor's wars and undertakings have been numerous. He has been described as waging war against the Germans across the Rhine, and then there was his bridge of boats over the Tigris, and his exposure of the power and arrogance of the Parthians[1] was no trivial thing, on that occasion when they did not venture to defend their country while he was laying it waste, but had to look on while the whole of it was devastated between the Tigris and the Lycus. Then, when the war against the usurper was concluded, there followed the expeditions to Sicily and Carthage, and that stratagem of occupying beforehand the mouth of the Po, which deprived the usurper of all his forces in Italy, and finally that third and last fall[2] at the Cottian Alps, which secured for the Emperor the pleasure of a victory that was sure, and carried with it no fears for the future, while it compelled the defeated man to inflict on himself a just penalty wholly worthy of his misdeeds.

I have given this brief account of the Emperor's achievements, not adding anything in flattery and trying to exaggerate things that are perhaps of no special importance, nor dragging in what is far-fetched and unduly pressing points of resemblance with those achievements, like those who interpret

[1] cf. *Oration* 1. 22. 28.

[2] In wrestling the third fall was final: the phrase became proverbial, cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 256 B, Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 592, Julian, *Or.* 1. 40 B.

μύθους ἐξηγούμενοι τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀναλύοντες
ἐς λόγους πιθανοὺς καὶ ἐνδεχομένους τὰ πλάσματα
ἐκ μικρᾶς πάνυ τῆς ὑπονοίας ὁρμώμενοι καὶ 75
ἀμυδρὰς λίαν παραλαβόντες τὰς ἀρχὰς πειρῶνται
ξυμπείθειν, ὡς δὴ ταῦτά γε αὐτὰ ἐκείνων ἐθελόντων
λέγειν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τῶν Ὁμήρου
μόνον τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ὀνόματα, ἐνθείη δὲ τὸ
βασιλέως καὶ ἐναρμόσειεν, οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἐκείνους
ἢ τοῦτον πεποιῆσθαι δόξει τὰ[1] τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἔπη.

Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔργων μόνον ἀκού-
οντες τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τῶν[2] ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
ἔλαττον ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνητε βασιλέα περὶ τὰ B
σεμνότερα καὶ ὧν ἄξιον μείζονα ποιεῖσθαι λόγον,
δημηγοριῶν φημι καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν, καὶ ὁπόσα
γνώμη μετὰ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως κατευθύνει,
ἀθρεῖτε ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Νέστορι τοῖς ἐπαινου-
μένοις κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, καὶ ἤν τι μεῖον ἐν
βασιλεῖ καταμανθάνητε, τοῖς ἐπαινέταις τοῦτο
λογίζεσθε, πλέον δὲ ἔχοντα δικαίως ἂν[3] αὐτὸν
μᾶλλον ἀποδεχοίμεθα. οὐκοῦν ὁ μέν, ὁπηνίκα
χαλεπαίνειν καὶ στασιάζειν ἤρχοντο περὶ τῆς
αἰχμαλώτου κόρης, λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶν οὕτω δή τι
πείθει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος, ὥστε C
ὁ μὲν ἀκόσμως διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ
περιμείνας ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἔτι
δὲ αὐτὰ δρῶν καὶ ἀφορῶν ἐς τὴν θεωρίδα, στέλλει
τοὺς κήρυκας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως σκηνήν, ὥσπερ
οἶμαι δεδιὼς μὴ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιλαθόμενος καὶ

[1] Before τῆς Hertlein, Reiske omit ὑπὲρ.
[2] τῶν Hertlein adds. [3] ἂν Hertlein adds.

the myths of the poets and analyse them into plausible versions which allow them to introduce fictions of their own, though they start out from very slight analogies, and having recourse to a very shadowy basis, try to convince us that this is the very thing that the poets intended to say. But in this case if anyone should take out of Homer's poems merely the names of the heroes, and insert and fit in the Emperor's, the epic of the Iliad would be seen to have been composed quite as much in his honour as in theirs.

But that you may not think, if you hear only about his achievements and successes in war, that the Emperor is less well endowed for pursuits that are loftier and rightly considered of more importance, I mean public speaking and deliberations and all those affairs in which judgment combined with intelligence and prudence take the helm, consider the case of Odysseus and Nestor, who are so highly praised in the poem; and if you find that the Emperor is inferior to them in any respect, put that down to his panegyrists, but we should rather in fairness concede that he is far superior. Nestor, for instance, when they began to disagree and quarrel about the captive damsel,[1] tried to address them, and he did persuade the king and the son of Thetis, but only to this extent that Achilles broke up the assembly in disorder, while Agamemnon did not even wait to complete his expiation to the god, but while he was still performing the rite and the sacred ship was in view, he sent heralds to the tent of Achilles, just as though, it seems to me, he were afraid that

[1] Briseis, *Iliad* 1. 247.

ἀπαλλαγεὶς τοῦ πάθους μεταγνοίη καὶ ἀποφύγοι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα· ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης ῥήτωρ πολύτροπος πείθειν ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς διαλλαγὰς Ἀχιλλέα καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ διδούς, μυρία δὲ D
ἐπαγγελλόμενος, οὕτω τὸν νεανίσκον παρώξυνεν, ὥστε πρότερον οὐ[1] βουλευσάμενον τὸν ἀπόπλουν νῦν[2] παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ θαυμαστὰ τῆς συνέσεως δείγματα αἵ τε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρακλήσεις καὶ ἡ τειχοποιία τοῦ Νέστορος, πρεσβυτικὸν λίαν καὶ ἄτολμον ἐπινόημα. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ὄφελος ἦν πολὺ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ μηχανήματος· ἀλλὰ ἡττῶντο τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος 76
ἐπιτελέσαντες, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. τότε μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν νεῶν ᾤοντο προβεβλῆσθαι καθάπερ ἔρυμα γενναῖον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθοντο σφῶν[3] προκείμενον καὶ ἀποικοδομούμενον[4] τεῖχος τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διηλούμενον,[5] κατερρᾳθύμουν καὶ ὑφίεντο τῆς ἀλκῆς τῷ τειχίσματι πεποιθότες. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐκείνοις μέμφοιτο καὶ ἐπιδεικνύοι διαμαρτάνοντας, οὗτός ἐστι βασιλέως ἀξιόχρεως ἐπαινέτης· ὅστις δὲ οἶμαι τῶν ἔργων ἀξίως μνησθείη, οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως οὐδὲ B
ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ γενομένων, προβουλευθέντων δὲ ὀρθῶς καὶ διοικηθέντων, οὗτος ἀρκούντως ἐπαινεῖ τὴν βασιλέως ἀγχίνοιαν.

Τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ συνόδῳ τὰς δημηγορίας ἐκλέγειν τὰς[6] ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ δήμους καὶ

[1] πρότερον οὐ Hertlein suggests, οὐ πρότερον MSS.
[2] νῦν Cobet adds.
[3] ᾔσθοντο σφῶν Cobet, ᾔσθοντο τὸ MSS., Hertlein.
[4] ἀπῳκοδομημένον Hertlein suggests, ἀποικοδομούμενον MSS.
[5] διειλημμένον Hertlein suggests, διηλούμενον MSS.
[6] τὰς Reiske adds.

he would forget his anger, and, once free from that passion, would repent and avoid his error. Again, the far-travelled orator from Ithaca, when he tried to persuade Achilles to make peace, and offered him many gifts and promised him countless others, so provoked the young warrior that, though he had not before planned to sail home, he now began to make preparations.[1] Then there are those wonderful proofs of their intelligence, their exhortations to battle and Nestor's building of the wall, a cowardly notion and worthy indeed of an old man. Nor in truth did the Achaeans benefit much from that device. For it was after they had finished the wall that they were worsted by the Trojans, and naturally enough. For before that, they thought that they were themselves protecting the ships, like a noble bulwark. But when they realised that a wall lay in front of them, built with a deep moat and set at intervals with sharp stakes, they grew careless and slackened their valour, because they trusted to the fortification. Yet it is not anyone who blames them and shows that they were in the wrong who is therefore a fit and proper person to praise the Emperor. But he who, in a worthy manner, recounts the Emperor's deeds, which were done not idly or automatically, or from an irrational impulse, but were skilfully planned beforehand and carried through, he alone praises adequately the Emperor's keen intelligence.

But to report to you those speeches which he made at every public gathering to the armies and

[1] *Iliad* 9. 260.

βουλευτήρια μακροτέρας δεῖται τῆς ξυγγραφῆς. ἑνὸς δὲ ἴσως ἐπακούειν οὐ χαλεπόν. καί μοι πάλιν ἐννοήσατε τὸν Λαέρτου, ὁπότε ὡρμημένους ἐκπλεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπέχει τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐς C
τὸν πόλεμον μετατίθησι τὴν προθυμίαν, καὶ[1] βασιλέως τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ξύλλογον, ἵνα δὴ πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ μειρακίων παιδικὰ φρονεῖν ἀναπειθόμενος ὁμολογιῶν ἐπελανθάνετο καὶ πίστεων, καὶ τῷ μὲν σωτῆρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ δυσμενὴς ἦν, σπονδὰς δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος βασιλεῖ πόλεμος, στρατόν τε ἤγειρε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις ἀπήντα τῆς D
χώρας, κωλῦσαι τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ταὐτὸν ἦλθον ἀμφοτέρω τὼ στρατεύματε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βῆμά τε ὑψηλὸν ᾔρετο καὶ αὐτὸ περιέσχεν ὁπλιτῶν δῆμος καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἱππεῖς τε ἐνσκευασάμενοι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν τάξεων· ἀνῄει τε ἐπ' αὐτὸ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ τέως ξυνάρχοντος οὔτε αἰχμὴν φέρων οὔτε ἀσπίδα καὶ 77
κράνος, ἀλλὰ ἐσθῆτα τὴν συνήθη. καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τις τῶν δορυφόρων εἵπετο, μόνος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἱστήκει πεποιθὼς τῷ λόγῳ σεμνῶς ἡρμοσμένῳ. ἐργάτης γάρ ἐστι καὶ τούτων ἀγαθός, οὐκ ἀποσμιλεύων οὐδὲ ἀπονυχίζων τὰ ῥήματα οὐδὲ ἀποτορνεύων τὰς περιόδους καθά-

[1] [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein.

the common people and the councils, demands too long a narrative, though it is perhaps not too much to ask you to hear about one of these. Pray then think once more of the son of Laertes when the Greeks were rushing to set sail and he checked the rush and diverted their zeal back to the war,[1] and then of the Emperor's assembly in Illyria, when that old man,[2] persuaded by mere youths to think childish thoughts, forgot his treaties and obligations and proved to be the enemy of his preserver and benefactor, and came to terms with one against whom the Emperor was waging a war that allowed no truce nor herald of a truce,[3] and who was not only getting an army together, but came to meet the Emperor on the border of the country, because he was anxious to hinder him from advancing further. And when those two armies met, and it was necessary to hold an assembly in the presence of the hoplites, a high platform was set up and it was surrounded by a crowd of hoplites, javelin-men and archers and cavalry equipped with their horses and the standards of the divisions. Then the Emperor, accompanied by him who for the moment was his colleague, mounted the platform, carrying no sword or shield or helmet, but wearing his usual dress. And not even one of his bodyguard followed him, but there he stood alone on the platform, trusting to that speech which was so impressively appropriate. For of speeches too he is a good craftsman, though he does not plane down and polish his phrases nor elaborate his periods like the ingenious

[1] *Iliad* 2. 188.

[2] Vetranio; Themistius, *Or.* 2. 37 B, who in a panegyric on Constantius describes this oratorical triumph

[3] Demosthenes, *De Corona* 262, ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος . . . πόλεμος.

περ οἱ κομψοὶ ῥήτορες, σεμνὸς δὲ ἅμα καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι ξὺν καιρῷ χρώμενος, ὥστε ἐνδύεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ τῶν παιδείας B καὶ ξυνέσεως μεταποιουμένων μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ξυνιέναι πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπαΐειν τῶν ῥημάτων. οὐκοῦν ᾕρει μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν συχνὰς καὶ χιλιάδας ἱππέων εἴκοσι καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα[1] καὶ χώραν πάμφορον, οὐ βίᾳ ἕλκων οὐδὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἄγων, ἑκόντας δὲ αὐτῷ πειθομένους καὶ τὸ ἐπιταττόμενον ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας. ταύτην ἐγὼ τὴν νίκην κρίνω τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκείνης[2] μακρῷ σεμνοτέραν· ἡ μέν γε ἦν ἄδακρυς μόνοις[3] τοῖς κρατοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς C κρατηθεῖσιν ἤνεγκε δάκρυα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κατῆλθεν ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ὑποκριτὴς δικασάμενος καὶ ὥσπερ ὄφλημα βασιλεῖ πατρῷον ἀποδοὺς τὴν ἁλουργίδα· τἄλλα δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσι βασιλεὺς ἄφθονα μᾶλλον ἢ Κῦρόν φασι παρασχεῖν τῷ πάππῳ, ζῆν τε ἐποίησε καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι καθάπερ Ὅμηρος ἀξιοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους,

Τοιούτῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε,
Εὑδέμεναι μαλακῶς· ἡ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γερόντων. D

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸν ἡδέως ἂν τοὺς ῥηθέντας λόγους διεξῆλθον, καὶ οὐκ ἄν με ὄκνος καταλάβοι οὕτω καλῶν ἁπτόμενον λόγων· αἰδὼς δὲ οἶμαι κατείργει καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει μετατιθέναι καὶ ἐξερμηνεύειν ἐς ὑμᾶς τοὺς λόγους. ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν διαφθείρων

[1] τὰ before μαχιμώτατα V, Hertlein omit.
[2] ἐκείνης Naber adds.
[3] μόνοις Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.

rhetoricians, but is at once dignified and simple, and uses the right words on every occasion, so that they sink into the souls not only of those who claim to be cultured and intelligent, but many unlearned persons too understand and give hearing to his words. And so he won over many tens of thousands of hoplites and twenty thousand cavalry and most warlike nations, and at the same time a country that is extremely fertile, not seizing it by force, or carrying off captives, but by winning over men who obeyed him of their own free will and were eager to carry out his orders. This victory I judge to be far more splendid than that for which Sparta is famous.[1] For that was "tearless" for the victors only, but the Emperor's did not cause even the defeated to shed tears, but he who was masquerading as Emperor came down from the platform when he had pleaded his cause, and handed over to the Emperor the imperial purple[2] as though it were an ancestral debt. And all else the Emperor gave him in abundance, more than they say Cyrus gave to his grandfather, and arranged that he should live and be maintained in the manner that Homer recommends for men who are past their prime:—

"For it is fitting that such a one, when he has bathed and fed, should sleep soft, for that is the manner of the aged."[3]

Now for my part I should have been glad to repeat to you the words that the Emperor used, and no fear would overtake me when handling words so noble. But modesty restrains me and does not permit me to change or interpret his words to you. For it

[1] The victory of Archidamus over the Arcadians Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7. 1. 32. [2] cf. *Oration* 1. 32 A.
[3] *Odyssey* 24. 253.

καὶ ἐλεγχόμενος αἰσχυνοίμην, εἴ τις ἄρα τὸ βασιλέως ἀναγνοὺς ξύγγραμμα ἢ τότε ἀκούσας ἀπομνημονεύοι καὶ ἀπαιτοίη οὐ τὰ νοήματα μόνον, 7
ὅσαις δὲ ἀρεταῖς ἐκεῖνα κοσμεῖται κατὰ τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ξυγκείμενα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν Ὁμήρῳ τὸ δέος πολλαῖς μὲν ὕστερον γενεαῖς τοὺς λόγους διηγουμένῳ, λιπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων οὐδὲν ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἐς τοὺς ξυλλόγους ῥηθέντων, καὶ σαφῶς οἶμαι πιστεύοντι, ὅτι ἄμεινον[1] τἀκείνων αὐτὸς ἐξαγγελεῖ καὶ διηγήσεται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μιμεῖσθαι καταγέλαστον καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐλευθέρας ψυχῆς καὶ γενναίας. τὰ μὲν δὴ θαυ- B
μαστὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὁπόσων ὁ πολὺς ὅμιλος θεατής τε ἐγένετο καὶ διασώζει τὴν μνήμην ξὺν εὐφημίᾳ, ἅτε ἐς τὸ[2] τέλος ἀφορῶν καὶ τῶν εὖ ἢ κακῶς ἀποβάντων κριτὴς καθεστὼς καὶ ἐπαινέτης οὐ μάλα ἀστεῖος, ἀκηκόατε πολλάκις τῶν μακαρίων σοφιστῶν καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ γένους πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν μουσῶν ἐπιπνεομένου, ὥστε ὑμᾶς τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ διωχλήκαμεν, μακροτέρους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι λόγους· καὶ γάρ ἐστε λίαν C
αὐτῶν ἤδη διακορεῖς καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστι τὰ ὦτα πλήρη, καὶ οὐ μή ποτε ἐπιλίπωσιν οἱ τούτων ποιηταί, πολέμους ὑμνοῦντες καὶ νίκας ἀνακηρύττοντες λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίασι κήρυκας· παρέσχεσθε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀφθονίαν, ἀσμένως ἐπακούοντες. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων ὑπολήψεις ἀγαθῶν

[1] ἄμεινον Petavius, Cobet, ἄρα Hertlein, MSS., ἄρα κἀκείνων cant. and fl. [2] τὸ Reiske adds.

would be wrong of me to tamper with them, and I should blush to have my ignorance exposed, if someone who had read the Emperor's composition or heard it at the time should remember it by heart, and demand from me not only the ideas in it but all the excellences with which they are adorned, though they are composed in the language of our ancestors.[1] Now this at any rate Homer had not to fear when, many generations later, he reported his speeches, since his speakers left no record of what they said in their assemblies, and I think he was clearly confident that he was able to relate and report what they said in a better style. But to make an inferior copy is absurd and unworthy of a generous and noble soul. Now as to the marvellous portion of his achievements and those of which the great multitude was spectator and hence preserves their memory and commends them, since it looks to the result and is there to judge whether they turn out well or ill, and eulogises them in language that is certainly not elegant,—as to all this I say you have often heard from the ingenious sophists, and from the race of poets inspired by the Muses themselves, so that, as far as these are concerned, I must have wearied you by speaking about them at too great length. For you are already surfeited with them, your ears are filled with them, and there will always be a supply of composers of such discourses to sing of battles and proclaim victories with a loud clear voice, after the manner of the heralds at the Olympic games. For you yourselves, since you delight to listen to them, have produced an abundance of these men. And no wonder. For their

[1] Latin; of which Julian had only a slight knowledge. The fourth century Sophists were content with Greek. Themistius never learned Latin, and Libanius needed an interpreter for a Latin letter, *Epistle* 956.

πέρι καὶ φαύλων ταῖς ὑμετέραις ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ D
ἀπαγγέλλουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν διανοήματα, ἃ[1] ὥσπερ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ[2] τοῖς ὀνόμασι σκιαγραφήσαντες καὶ διαπλάσαντες ἡδίστοις ῥυθμοῖς καὶ σχήμασιν ὡς δή τι καινὸν εὑρόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς φέρουσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄσμενοι παραδέχεσθε, καὶ ἐκείνους τε οἴεσθε ὀρθῶς ἐπαινεῖν, τούτοις τε ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸ προσῆκόν φατε. τὸ δέ ἐστι μὲν ἴσως ἀληθές, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχει, ἀγνοούμενον πρὸς ὑμῶν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἂν ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐνενόησα Σωκράτη· 79
ἴστε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀκοῇ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κλέος τῆς σοφίας παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκβοηθέν· οὐ ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντα[3] οὐδὲ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μακαρίους ὁμολογοῦντα τοὺς πολλὴν κεκτημένους χώραν, πλεῖστα δ' ἔθνη καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς μὲν Ἑλλήνων, πλείους δὲ ἔτι καὶ μείζους βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Ἄθω διορύττειν δυναμένους καὶ σχεδίᾳ τὰς ἠπείρους, ἐπειδὰν ἐθέλωσι διαβαίνειν, συνάπτοντας καὶ ἔθνη καταστρεφομένους καὶ αἱροῦντας νήσους καὶ σαγηνεύοντας B
καὶ λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα καταθύοντας. οὔτε οὖν Ξέρξην ἐκεῖνος ἐπῄνει ποτὲ οὔτε ἄλλον τινὰ Περσῶν ἢ Λυδῶν ἢ Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνων στρατηγόν, πλὴν σφόδρα ὀλίγων, ὁπόσους ἠπίστατο χαίροντας ἀρετῇ καὶ ἀσπαζομένους ἀνδρείαν μετὰ σωφροσύνης καὶ φρόνησιν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης στέργοντας.

[1] ἃ Reiske adds.
[2] ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ MSS., Cobet, ἐσθῆτα ποικίλην Hertlein.
[3] ἐπαινοῦντα Reiske, εὐδαιμονοῦντα MSS., Hertlein.

conceptions of what is good and bad are akin to your own, and they do but report to you your own opinions and depict them in fine phrases, like a dress of many colours, and cast them into the mould of agreeable rhythms and forms, and bring them forth for you as though they had invented something new. And you welcome them eagerly, and think that this is the correct way to eulogise, and you say that these deeds have received their due. And this is perhaps true, but it may well be otherwise, since you do not really know what the correct way should be.

For I have observed that Socrates the Athenian—you know the man by hearsay and that his reputation for wisdom was proclaimed aloud by the Pythian oracle [1]—I say I have observed that he did not praise that sort of thing, nor would he admit [2] that they are happy and fortunate who are masters of a great territory and many nations, with many Greeks too among them, and still more numerous and powerful barbarians, such men as are able to cut a canal through Athos and join continents [3] by a bridge of boats whenever they please, and who subdue nations and reduce islands by sweeping the inhabitants into a net,[4] and make offerings of a thousand talents' worth of frankincense.[5] Therefore he never praised Xerxes or any other king of Persia or Lydia or Macedonia, and not even a Greek general, save only a very few, whomsoever he knew to delight in virtue and to cherish courage with temperance and to love wisdom with justice. But those whom he saw to be

[1] cf. 191 A. [2] Plato, *Gorgias* 470 D. [3] Plato, *Laws* 699 A.
[4] Plato, *Laws* 698 D; Herodotus 6. 31. [5] Herodotus 1. 183.

ὅσους δὲ ἀγχίνους ἢ δεινοὺς ἢ στρατηγικοὺς ἢ
κομψοὺς καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανοὺς ἑώρα, σμίκρ'
ἄττα μόρια κατανειμαμένους ἀρετῆς, οὐδὲ τούτους C
ἐς ἅπαν ἐπῄνει. ἕπεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ κρίσει σοφῶν
ἀνδρῶν δῆμος ἀρετὴν θεραπεύοντες, τὰ κλεινὰ δὲ
οἶμαι ταῦτα καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ μὲν ὀλίγου τινός, οἱ
δὲ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λέγοντες.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταύτῃ πῃ ξυνδοκεῖ, δέος οὐ
φαῦλόν με ἔχει περὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν λόγων καὶ
ἐμαυτοῦ, μή ποτε ἄρα τοὺς μὲν παιδιὰν[1] ἀπο-
φήνητε, σοφιστὴν δὲ ἐμὲ γελοῖον καὶ ἀμαθῆ,
μεταποιούμενον τέχνης, ἧς σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἔχειν D
ὁμολογῶ, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμολογητέον ἐστὶ
τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἐπαίνους διεξιόντι καὶ ὧν ἀκούειν
ἄξιον ὑμῖν οἴεσθε, εἰ καὶ ἀγροικότεροι καὶ ἐλάτ-
τους μακρῷ τῶν ῥηθέντων τοῖς πολλοῖς φαίνοιντο.
εἰ δέ, ὅπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἔφην, ἀποδέχεσθε τοὺς
ἐκείνων ποιητάς, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνεῖται τὸ δέος εὖ μάλα.
οὐ γὰρ πάντα ὑμῖν ἄτοπος φανοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ
πολλῶν μὲν οἶμαι φαυλότερος, κατ' ἐμαυτὸν δὲ
ἐξεταζόμενος οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπόβλητος οὐδὲ 80
ἀτόποις ἐπιχειρῶν. ὑμῖν δὲ ἴσως οὐ ῥᾴδιον σοφοῖς
καὶ θείοις ἀπιστεῖν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ δὴ λέγουσι πολλὰ
μὲν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ, τὸ κεφάλαιον δέ ἐστι τῶν λόγων
ἀρετῆς ἔπαινος. ταύτην δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ φασιν
ἐμφύεσθαι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαίμονα καὶ
βασιλικὴν καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία πολιτικὴν καὶ στρατη-

[1] παιδιὰν Cobet, *Mnemosyne* 10. παιδιὰς (earlier conjecture Cobet) Hertlein, παιδείους V, παῖδας MSS.

cunning, or merely clever, or generals and nothing more, or ingenious, or able, though each one could lay claim to only one small fraction of virtue, to impose on the masses, these too he would not praise without reserve. And his judgment is followed by a host of wise men who reverence virtue, but as for all those wonders and marvels that I have described, some say of them that they are worth little, others that they are worth nothing.

Now if you also are of their opinion, I feel no inconsiderable alarm for what I said earlier, and for myself, lest possibly you should declare that my words are mere childishness, and that I am an absurd and ignorant sophist and make pretensions to an art in which I confess that I have no skill, as indeed I must confess to you when I recite eulogies that are really deserved, and such as you think it worth while to listen to, even though they should seem to most of you somewhat uncouth and far inferior to what has been already uttered. But if, as I said before, you accept the authors of those other eulogies, then my fear is altogether allayed. For then I shall not seem wholly out of place, but though, as I admit, inferior to many others, yet judged by my own standard, not wholly unprofitable nor attempting what is out of place. And indeed it is probably not easy for you to disbelieve wise and inspired men who have much to say, each in his own manner, though the sum and substance of all their speeches is the praise of virtue. And virtue they say is implanted in the soul and makes it happy and kingly, yes, by Zeus, and statesmanlike and gifted with true

γικὴν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ πλουσίαν γε ἀληθῶς οὐ τὸ Κολοφώνιον ἔχουσαν χρυσίον

Οὐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔεργε B
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, ὅτε ἦν ὀρθὰ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα, οὐδὲ ἐσθῆτα πολυτελῆ καὶ ψήφους Ἰνδικὰς καὶ γῆς πλέθρων μυριάδας πάνυ πολλάς, ἀλλ' ὃ πάντων ἅμα τούτων καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ θεοφιλέστερον, ὃ καὶ ἐν ναυαγίαις ἔνεστι διασώσασθαι καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἐρημίας, ἐν λῃσταῖς μέσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τυράννων C
βιαίων.

Ὅλως γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκείνου κρεῖττον, ὃ βιασάμενον καθέξει καὶ ἀφαιρήσεται τὸν ἔχοντα ἅπαξ. ἔστι γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ψυχῇ τὸ κτῆμα τοῦτο τοιοῦτον, ὁποῖον οἶμαι τὸ φῶς ἡλίῳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῦδε νεὼς μὲν καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλοὶ πολλάκις ὑφελόμενοι καὶ διαφθείραντες ᾤχοντο, δόντες μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν δίκην, ἄλλοι δὲ ὀλιγωρηθέντες ὡς οὐκ ἄξιοι κολάσεως εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν φερούσης· τὸ φῶς δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις ἡ σελήνη τὸν κύκλον ὑποτρέχουσα, D
οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτὴν δεχομένη τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ ἡμῖν πολλάκις, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐκ μεσημβρίας νύκτα δεικνῦσα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται φωτὸς τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἐναντίας ἱσταμένην περιλάμπων καὶ μεταδιδοὺς αὐτῇ τῆς αὑτοῦ φύσεως οὐδὲ τὸν μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν τουτονὶ κόσμον ἐμπλήσας αὐγῆς καὶ ἡμέρας. οὔκουν

generalship, and generous and truly wealthy, not because it possesses the Colophonian[1] treasures of gold,

"Nor all that the stone threshold of the Far-Darter
contained within,"[2]

"in the old days, in times of peace,"[3] when the fortunes of Greece had not yet fallen; nay nor costly clothing and precious stones from India and many tens of thousands of acres of land, but that which is superior to all these things together and more pleasing to the gods; which can keep us safe even in shipwreck, in the market-place, in the crowd, in the house, in the desert, in the midst of robbers, and from the violence of tyrants.

For there is nothing at all superior to it, nothing that can constrain and control it, or take it from him who has once possessed it. Indeed it seems to me that this possession bears the same relation to the soul as its light to the sun. For often men have stolen the votive offerings of the Sun and destroyed his temples and gone their way, and some have been punished, and others let alone as not worthy of the punishment that leads to amendment. But his light no one ever takes from the sun, not even the moon when in their conjunctions she oversteps his disc, or when she takes his rays to herself, and often, as the saying is, turns midday into night.[4] Nor is he deprived of his light when he illumines the moon in her station opposite to himself and shares with her his own nature, nor when he fills with light and day this great and wonderful universe.

[1] The gold work of Colophon was proverbial for its excellence. Cf. Aristophanes, *Cocalus fr.* 8.

[2] *Iliad* 9. 404.

[3] *Iliad* 22. 156.

[4] First used by Archilochus, *fr.* 74, in a description of an eclipse of the sun.

οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀρετῆς μεταδιδοὺς ἄλλῳ τῷ μεταδοθέντι μεῖον ἔχων ἐφάνη ποτέ· οὕτω θεῖόν 81 ἐστι κτῆμα καὶ πάγκαλον, καὶ οὐ ψευδὴς ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, ὅστις ποτὲ ἄρα ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ θεῖος ἀνήρ· πᾶς γὰρ ὅ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς χρυσὸς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος. θαρροῦντες οὖν ἤδη πλούσιον καλῶμεν τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα, οἶμαι δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εὐγενῆ καὶ βασιλέα μόνον τῶν ἁπάντων, εἴ τῳ ξυνδοκεῖ. κρείττων μὲν εὐγένεια φαυλότητος γένους, κρείττων δὲ ἀρετὴ διαθέσεως B οὐ πάντη σπουδαίας. καὶ μή τις οἰέσθω τὸν λόγον δύσεριν καὶ βίαιον εἰς τὴν συνήθειαν ἀφορῶν τῶν ὀνομάτων· φασὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς ἐκ πάλαι πλουσίων εὐγενεῖς. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον μάγειρον μὲν ἢ σκυτέα καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία κεραμέα τινὰ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς τέχνης ἢ καὶ ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἀθροίσαντα μὴ δοκεῖν εὐγενῆ μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπονομάζεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, εἰ δὲ ὁ τούτου παῖς διαδεξάμενος τὸν κλῆρον εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους διαπορθμεύσειε, τούτους δὲ ἤδη μέγα C φρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς Πελοπίδαις ἢ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἁμιλλᾶσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅστις προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἔφυ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῦ βίου ῥοπὴν κατηνέχθη, δικαίως ἂν μεταποιοῖτο τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ξυγγενείας, εἰ[1] μηδὲ ἐς τοὺς Πελοπίδας ἐξῆν ἐγγράφεσθαι τοὺς μὴ φέροντας ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον τοῦ γένους τὰ γνωρίσματα. λόγχη δὲ λέγεται περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς ἐντυπωθῆναι παρὰ τῆς τε-

[1] εἰ Hertlein adds.

Just so no good man who imparts his goodness to another was ever thought to have less virtue by as much as he had bestowed. So divine and excellent is that possession, and most true is the saying of the Athenian stranger, whoever that inspired man may have been: "All the gold beneath the earth and above ground is too little to give in exchange for virtue."[1] Let us therefore now boldly call its possessor wealthy, yes and I should say well-born also, and the only king among them all,[2] if anyone agree to this. For as noble birth is better than a lowly pedigree, so virtue is better than a character not in all respects admirable. And let no one say that this statement is contentious and too strong, judging by the ordinary use of words. For the multitude are wont to say that the sons of those who have long been rich are well-born. And yet is it not extraordinary that a cook or cobbler, yes, by Zeus, or some potter who has got money together by his craft, or by some other means, is not considered well-born nor is given that title by the many, whereas if this man's son inherit his estate and hand it on to his sons, they begin to give themselves airs and compete on the score of noble birth with the Pelopids and the Heraclids? Nay, even a man who is born of noble ancestors, but himself sinks down in the opposite scale of life, could not justly claim kinship with those ancestors, seeing that no one could be enrolled among the Pelopids who had not on his shoulder the birth-mark[3] of that family. And in Boeotia it was said that there was the impression of a spear on the Sown-men[4] from the

[1] Plato, *Laws* 728 A. [2] Horace, *Epistles* 1. 1. 106.

[3] One shoulder was white as ivory.

[4] The Sparti, sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.

κούσης καὶ θρεψαμένης αὐτοὺς βώλου, καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διασωθῆναι τοῦτο τῷ γένει σύμβολον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν οὐδὲν οἰόμεθα δεῖν ἐγκεχαράχθαι τοιοῦτον, ὃ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς κατερεῖ καὶ ἀπελέγξει τὸν τόκον γνήσιον; ὑπάρχειν δέ φασι καὶ Κελτοῖς ποταμὸν ἀδέκαστον κριτὴν τῶν ἐκγόνων·[1] καὶ οὐ πείθουσιν αὐτὸν οὔτε αἱ μητέρες ὀδυρόμεναι συγκαλύπτειν αὐταῖς καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν ἁμαρτάδα οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τῶν γαμετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων[2] ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει δειμαίνοντες, ἀτρεκὴς δέ ἐστι καὶ ἀψευδὴς κριτής. ἡμᾶς δὲ δεκάζει μὲν πλοῦτος, δεκάζει δὲ ἰσχὺς καὶ ὥρα σώματος καὶ δυναστεία προγόνων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκιάζουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει διορᾶν οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπειν ἐς τὴν ψυχήν, ᾗπερ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων διαφέροντες εἰκότως ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ποιοίμεθα κρίσιν. καί μοι δοκοῦσιν εὐστοχίᾳ φύσεως οἱ πάλαι θαυμαστῇ χρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπίκτητον ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες τὸ φρονεῖν, οὔτι πλαστῶς, ἀλλ' αὐτοφυῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες, τοῦτο κατανοῆσαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦ Διὸς ἀνειπεῖν ἔκγονον[3] καὶ τὼ τῆς Λήδας υἱέε, Μίνω τε οἶμαι τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν τὸν Κνώσιον τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιῶσαι φήμης· καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἄλλων ἐκγόνους ἀνεκήρυττον πολλοὺς διαφέροντας τῶν φύσει πατέρων. ἔβλεπον γὰρ ἐς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς πλοῦτον βαθὺν

[1] ἐκγόνων MSS., cf. 82 A B, ἐγγόνων Hertlein.
[2] ἐκγόνων MSS., ἐγγόνων Hertlein.
[3] ἔκγονον MSS., Cobet, ἔγγονον Hertlein.

clod of earth that bore and reared them, and that hence the race long preserved that distinguishing mark. And can we suppose that on men's souls no mark of that sort is engraved, which shall tell us accurately who their fathers were and vindicate their birth as legitimate? They say that the Celts also have a river[1] which is an incorruptible judge of offspring, and neither can the mothers persuade that river by their laments to hide and conceal their fault for them, nor the fathers who are afraid for their wives and sons in this trial, but it is an arbiter that never swerves or gives a false verdict. But we are corrupted by riches, by physical strength in its prime, by powerful ancestors, an influence from without that overshadows and does not permit us to see clearly or discern the soul; for we are unlike all other living things in this, that by the soul and by nothing else, we should with reason make our decision about noble birth. And it seems to me that the ancients, employing a wondrous sagacity of nature, since their wisdom was not like ours a thing acquired, but they were philosophers by nature, not manufactured,[2] perceived the truth of this, and so they called Heracles the son of Zeus, and Leda's two sons also, and Minos the law-giver, and Rhadamanthus of Cnossus they deemed worthy of the same distinction. And many others they proclaimed to be the children of other gods, because they so surpassed their mortal parents. For they looked at the soul alone and their actual deeds, and not at wealth piled high and hoary with age, nor at the

[1] The Rhine; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 16.
[2] Plato, *Laws* 642 C.

καὶ χρόνῳ πολιόν, οὐδὲ δυναστείαν ἐκ πάππων τινῶν καὶ ἐπιπάππων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἤκουσαν· καίτοι C
γε ὑπῆρχέ τισιν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀδόξων γενέσθαι πατέρων· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἧς ἐτίμων τε καὶ ἐθεράπευον ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἐνομίζοντο τῶν θεῶν παῖδες. δῆλον δὲ ἐνθένδε· ἄλλων γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰδότες τοὺς φύσει γονέας ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνῆπτον τὴν φήμην, τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀρετῇ χαριζόμενοι. καὶ οὐ πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὡς ἄρα ἐκεῖνοι ὑπ' ἀμαθίας ἐξαπατώμενοι ταῦτα τῶν θεῶν κατεψεύδοντο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς ἦν ἐξαπατη- D
θῆναι θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, σχήματα περιτιθέντας ἀνθρώπινα καὶ μορφὰς τοιαύτας, ἀφανῆ μὲν αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀνέφικτον κεκτημένων αὐτῶν φύσιν, νῷ δὲ ἀκριβεῖ διὰ ξυγγένειαν μόλις προσπίπτουσαν· οὔτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν θεῶν τοῦτο παθεῖν εὔλογον ἐκείνους, Ἡλίου μὲν ἐπιφημίζοντας Αἰήτην υἱέα, Ἑωσφόρου δὲ ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλων. ὅπερ δὲ ἔφην, χρὴ περὶ αὐτῶν πειθομένους 83
ἡμᾶς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἐξέτασιν· καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν ἂν ὦσιν ἀγαθοὶ πατέρες καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐμφερής, τοῦτον ὀνομάζειν θαρρούντως εὐγενῆ· ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν πατέρων ὑπῆρξεν ἀρετῆς ἐνδεᾶ, αὐτὸς δὲ μετεποιήθη τούτου τοῦ κτήματος, τούτου δὲ νομιστέον πατέρα τὸν Δία καὶ φυτουργόν, καὶ οὐδὲν μεῖον αὐτῷ δοτέον ἐκείνων, οἳ γεγονότες πατέρων ἀγαθῶν τοὺς σφῶν τοκέας ἐζήλωσαν· ὅστις δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γέγονε μοχθηρός, B

power that had come down to them from some grandfather or great-grandfather. And yet some of them were the sons of fathers not wholly inglorious. But because of the superabundance in them of that virtue which men honoured and cherished, they were held to be the sons of the gods themselves. This is clear from the following fact. In the case of certain others, though they did not know those who were by nature their sires, they ascribed that title to a divinity, to recompense the virtue of those men. And we ought not to say that they were deceived, and that in ignorance they told lies about the gods. For even if in the case of other gods or deities it was natural that they should be so deceived, when they clothed them in human forms and human shapes, though those deities possess a nature not to be perceived or attained by the senses, but barely recognisable by means of pure intelligence, by reason of their kinship with it; nevertheless in the case of the visible gods it is not probable that they were deceived, for instance, when they entitled Aeetes "son of Helios" and another[1] "son of the Dawn," and so on with others. But, as I said, we must in these cases believe them, and make our enquiry about noble birth accordingly. And when a man has virtuous parents and himself resembles them, we may with confidence call him nobly born. But when, though his parents lack virtue, he himself can claim to possess it, we must suppose that the father who begat him is Zeus, and we must not pay less respect to him than to those who are the sons of virtuous fathers and emulate their parents. But when a bad man comes of good parents, we ought to

[1] Memnon.

τοῦτον τοῖς νόθοις ἐγγράφειν ἄξιον· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ μοχθηρῶν φῦντας καὶ προσομοίους τοῖς αὑτῶν τοκεῦσιν οὔποτε εὐγενεῖς φατέον, οὐδὲ εἰ πλουτοῖεν ταλάντοις μυρίοις, οὐδὲ εἰ ἀπαριθμοῖντο προγόνους δυνάστας ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία τυράννους εἴκοσιν, οὐδὲ εἰ νίκας Ὀλυμπιακὰς ἢ Πυθικὰς ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων, αἳ δὴ τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων εἰσὶ λαμπρότεραι, C
ἀνελομένους ἔχοιεν δείκνυσθαι πλείους ἢ Καῖσαρ ὁ πρῶτος, ὀρύγματά τε[1] τὰ Ἀσσύρια καὶ τὰ Βαβυλωνίων τείχη πυραμίδας τε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰς Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τρυφῆς γέγονε σημεῖα καὶ διανοίας ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἀναφλεγομένης καὶ ἀπορουμένης[2] ἐς ὅ,τι τῷ πλούτῳ χρήσεται, εἶτα ἐς τοῦτο τὰς τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίας καταβαλλομένης. εὖ γὰρ δὴ ἴστε, ὡς οὔτε πλοῦτος ἀρχαῖος ἢ νεωστί ποθεν ἐπιρρέων βασιλέα ποιεῖ οὔτε ἁλουργὲς ἱμάτιον D
οὔτε τιάρα καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ διάδημα καὶ θρόνος ἀρχαῖος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ὁπλῖται πολλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς μυρίοι, οὐδὲ εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι βασιλέα σφῶν τοῦτον ὁμολογοῖεν συνελθόντες, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀρετὴν οὗτοι χαρίζονται, ἀλλὰ δυναστείαν μὲν οὐ μάλα εὐτυχῆ τῷ λαβόντι, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τοῖς παρασχομένοις. δεξάμενος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος αἴρεται μετέωρος ἐπίπαν, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τοῦ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα μύθου καὶ πάθους. καὶ οὐδὲν ἑτέρων δεῖ παραδειγμάτων πρὸς πίστιν τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦ βίου παντὸς 84
ἀναπεπλησμένου τοιούτων παθημάτων καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λόγων. ὑμῖν δὲ εἰ θαυμαστὸν δοκεῖ τὸ μὴ

[1] τε Hertlein adds. [2] καὶ ἀπορουμένης Hertlein suggests.

enrol him among the bastards, while as for those who come of a bad stock and resemble their parents, never must we call them well-born, not even though their wealth amounts to ten thousand talents, not though they reckon among their ancestors twenty rulers, or, by Zeus, twenty tyrants, not though they can prove that the victories they won at Olympia or Pytho or in the encounters of war—which are in every way more brilliant than victories in the games—were more than the first Caesar's, or can point to excavations in Assyria[1] or to the walls of Babylon and the Egyptian pyramids besides, and to all else that is a proof of wealth and great possessions and luxury and a soul that is inflamed by ambition and, being at a loss how to use money, lavishes on things of that sort all those abundant supplies of wealth. For you are well aware that it is not wealth, either ancestral or newly acquired and pouring in from some source or other, that makes a king, nor his purple cloak nor his tiara and sceptre and diadem and ancestral throne, nay nor numerous hoplites and ten thousand cavalry; not though all men should gather together and acknowledge him for their king, because virtue they cannot bestow on him, but only power, ill-omened indeed for him that receives it, but still more for those that bestow it. For once he has received such power, a man of that sort is altogether raised aloft in the clouds, and in nowise differs from the legend of Phaethon and his fate. And there is no need of other instances to make us believe this saying, for the whole of life is full of such disasters and tales about them. And if it seems surprising to you that the title of king,

[1] cf. *Oration* 3. 126.

δικαίως μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς καλῆς ταύτης καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἐπωνυμίας τοὺς πολλῆς μὲν γῆς καὶ ἐθνῶν ἀπείρων ἄρχοντας, γνώμῃ δὲ αὐτεξουσίῳ δίχα νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ξυνεπομένων ἀρετῶν τὰ προστυχόντα κρίνοντας· ἴστε οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, οὐ μόνον εἰ τὰ παρόντα οὐδενός σφισιν B
ἐμποδὼν ὄντος ἔχοιεν καὶ ἐμφοροῖντο τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τῶν ἐπιστρατευόντων κρατοῖεν καὶ ἐπιόντες ἀνυπόστατοί τινες καὶ[1] *ἄμαχοι φαίνοιντο. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις ὑμῶν τῷ λόγῳ τῷδε, μάλα ἐμφανῶν μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν, Ἑλλήνων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων, οἳ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ ἰσχυρὰς λίαν μαχεσάμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἔθνη μὲν ἐκτῶντο καὶ αὐτοῖς φόρους ἀπάγειν κατηνάγ-* C
καζον, ἐδούλευον δὲ αἴσχιον ἐκείνων ἡδονῇ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ καὶ ὕβρει καὶ ἀδικίᾳ. τούτους δὲ οὐδὲ ἰσχυροὺς ἂν φαίη νοῦν ἔχων ἀνήρ, εἰ καὶ ἐπιφαίνοιτο καὶ ἐπιλάμποι μέγεθος τοῖς ἔργοις. μόνος γάρ ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὁ μετὰ ἀρετῆς ἀνδρεῖος καὶ μεγαλόφρων· ὅστις δὲ ἥττων μὲν ἡδονῶν, ἀκράτωρ δὲ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν παντοιῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ σμικρῶν ἀπαγορεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὸς οὐδὲ ἀνδρεῖος D
ἀνθρωπίνην ἰσχύν· ἐπιτρεπτέον δὲ ἴσως αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ταύρους ἢ τοὺς λέοντας ἢ τὰς παρδάλεις τῇ ῥώμῃ γάννυσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτην ἀποβαλὼν καθάπερ οἱ κηφῆνες ἀλλοτρίοις ἐφέστηκε πόνοις, αὐτὸς ὢν μαλθακὸς αἰχμητὴς καὶ δειλὸς καὶ ἀκόλαστος. τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν οὐ μόνον ἀληθοῦς ἐνδεὴς πλούτου καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πολυτιμήτου καὶ σεμνοῦ καὶ ἀγαπητοῦ, ἐξ οὗ παντοδαπαὶ

[1] τινες καὶ Hertlein suggests, τινες σφόδρα καὶ MSS.

so honourable, so favoured by the gods, cannot justly be claimed by men who, though they rule over a vast territory and nations without number, nevertheless settle questions that arise by an autocratic decision, without intelligence or wisdom or the virtues that go with wisdom, believe me they are not even free men; I do not mean if they merely possess what they have with none to hinder them and have their fill of power, but even though they conquer all who make war against them, and, when they lead an invading army, appear invincible and irresistible. And if any of you doubt this statement, I have no lack of notable witnesses, Greek and barbarian, who fought and won many mighty battles, and became the masters of whole nations and compelled them to pay tribute, and yet were themselves slaves in a still more shameful degree of pleasure, money and wantonness, insolence and injustice. And no man of sense would call them even powerful, not though greatness should shine upon and illumine all that they achieved. For he alone is strong whose virtue aids him to be brave and magnanimous. But he who is the slave of pleasure and cannot control his temper and appetites of all sorts, but is compelled to succumb to trivial things, is neither brave himself nor strong with a man's strength, though we may perhaps allow him to exult like a bull or lion or leopard[1] in his brute force, if indeed he do not lose even this and, like a drone, merely superintend the labours of others, himself a "feeble warrior,"[2] and cowardly and dissolute. And if that be his character, he is lacking not only in true riches, but in that wealth also which men so highly honour and reverence and

[1] *Iliad* 17, 20. [2] Homeric phrase: *Iliad* 17. 588.

κρεμάμεναι ψυχαὶ πράγματα ἔχουσι μυρία καὶ
πόνους, τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν κέρδους ἕνεκα πλεῖν τε ὑπο- 85
μένουσαι καὶ καπηλεύειν καὶ ληστεύειν καὶ ἀναρ-
πάζειν τὰς τυραννίδας. ζῶσι γὰρ ἀεὶ μὲν κτώμενοι,
ἀεὶ δὲ ἐνδεεῖς, οὔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων φημὶ σιτίων
καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἐσθημάτων· ὥρισται γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦ-
τος πλοῦτος εὖ μάλα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ οὐκ
ἔστιν αὐτοῦ στέρεσθαι οὔτε τοὺς ὄρνιθας οὔτε τοὺς
ἰχθῦς[1] οὔτε τὰ θηρία, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς
σώφρονας· ὅσους δὲ ἐνοχλεῖ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία B
καὶ ἔρως δυστυχής, τούτους δὲ ἀνάγκη πεινῆν διὰ
βίου καὶ ἀθλιώτερον ἀπαλλάττειν μακρῷ τῶν τῆς
ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ἐνδεομένων. τούτοις μὲν γὰρ
ἀποπλήσασι τὴν γαστέρα πολλὴ γέγονεν εἰρήνη
καὶ ἀνοκωχὴ τῆς ἀλγηδόνος, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὔτε
ἡμέρα πέφηνεν ἀκερδὴς ἡδεῖα, οὔτε εὐφρόνη τὸν
λυσιμελῆ καὶ λυσιμέριμνον ὕπνον ἐπάγουσα
παῦλαν ἐνεποίησε τῆς ἐμμανοῦς λύττης, στροβεῖ C
δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ στρέφει τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκλογιζομένων
καὶ ἀπαριθμουμένων τὰ χρήματα· καὶ οὐκ
ἐξαιρεῖται τοὺς ἄνδρας τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ'
αὐτῇ ταλαιπωρίας[2] οὐδὲ ὁ Ταντάλου καὶ Μίδου
πλοῦτος περιγενόμενος οὐδὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ
χαλεπωτάτη δαιμόνων τυραννὶς προσγενομένη. ἢ
γὰρ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε Δαρεῖον τὸν Περσῶν μονάρχην,[3]
οὐ παντάπασι μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, δυσέρωτα δὲ
αἰσχρῶς εἰς χρήματα καὶ νεκρῶν θήκας ὑπὸ τῆς
ἐπιθυμίας διορύττειν[4] καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπιτάττειν D

[1] ἰχθῦς Hertlein suggests, ἰχθύας MSS., cf. 59 A, ἰχθῦας V.
[2] ταλαιπωρίας Hertlein suggests, λοιδορίας MSS.
[3] μονάρχην Cobet, μονάρχην μισθωτόν MSS., Hertlein suggests μόναρχον μισθωτόν, ἢ μισθωτὸν Reiske, μονάρχου V.
[4] After διορύττειν Cobet omits ἀναπειθόμενον.

desire, on which hang the souls of men of all sorts, so that they undergo countless toils and labours for the sake of daily gain, and endure to sail the sea and to trade and rob and grasp at tyrannies. For they live ever acquiring but ever in want, though I do not say of necessary food and drink and clothes; for the limit of this sort of property has been clearly defined by nature, and none can be deprived of it, neither birds nor fish nor wild beasts, much less prudent men. But those who are tortured by the desire and fatal passion for money must suffer a lifelong hunger,[1] and depart from life more miserably than those who lack daily food. For these, once they have filled their bellies, enjoy perfect peace and respite from their torment, but for those others no day is sweet that does not bring them gain, nor does night with her gift of sleep that relaxes the limbs and frees men from care[2] bring for them any remission of their raging madness, but distracts and agitates their souls as they reckon and count up their money. And not even the wealth of Tantalus and Midas, should they possess it, frees those men from their desire and their hard toil therewith, nay nor "Tyranny the greatest and sternest of the gods,"[3] should they become possessed of this also. For have you not heard that Darius, the ruler of Persia, a man not wholly base, but insatiably and shamefully covetous of money, dug up in his greed even the tombs of the dead[4] and

[1] Plato, *Laws* 832 A. [2] *Odyssey* 20. 56.
[3] Euripides, *Phoenissae* 506 and *fr.* 252, Nauck.
[4] Of Queen Nitocris, Herodotus 1. 187.

φόρους; ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα γέγονε κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους·[1] ἐκάλουν γὰρ αὐτὸν Περσῶν οἱ γνώριμοι ὅτιπερ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Σάραμβον.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ τινος κατάντους ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῆς καταρρήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κολάζειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς τρόπους, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτῷ
περαιτέρω φοιτᾶν. ἀπαιτητέον δὲ εἰς δύναμιν τὸν 86
ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγωρος θεραπείας θεῶν, εἶτα ἐς τοὺς τοκέας ζῶντάς τε οἶμαι καὶ τελευτήσαντας ὅσιος καὶ ἐπιμελής, ἀδελφοῖς τε εὔνους, καὶ ὁμογνίους θεοὺς αἰδούμενος, ἱκέταις καὶ ξένοις πρᾷος καὶ μείλιχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρέσκειν ἐθέλων, τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμελόμενος ἐν δίκῃ καὶ ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ·
ἀγαπᾷ δὲ πλοῦτον, οὔτι τὸν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ B
βριθόμενον, φίλων δὲ ἀληθοῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἀκολακεύτου θεραπείας μεστόν· ἀνδρεῖος μὲν φύσει καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής, πολέμῳ δὲ ἥκιστα χαίρων καὶ στάσιν ἐμφύλιον ἀπεχθαίρων, τούς γε μὴν ἔκ τινος τύχης ἐπιφυομένους ἢ διὰ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν ἀνδρείως ὑφιστάμενος καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ἐγκρατῶς, τέλος τε ἐπάγων τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀφιστάμενος, πρὶν ἂν
ἐξέλῃ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὑποχείριον C
αὑτῷ ποιήσηται. κρατήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων

[1] ἀνθρώπους· Cobet, ἀνθρώπους ἐκφανές· Hertlein, ἐκφανὲς V, M, ἐμφανὲς MSS.

exacted the most costly tribute? And hence he acquired the title[1] that is famous among all mankind. For the notables of Persia called him by the name that the Athenians gave to Sarambos.[2]

But it seems that my argument, as though it had reached some steep descent, is glutting itself with unsparing abuse, and is chastising the manners of these men beyond what is fitting, so that I must not allow it to travel further. But now I must demand from it an account, as far as is possible, of the man who is good and kingly and great-souled. In the first place, then, he is devout and does not neglect the worship of the gods, and secondly he is pious and ministers to his parents, both when they are alive and after their death, and he is friendly to his brothers, and reverences the gods who protect the family, while to suppliants and strangers he is mild and gentle; and he is anxious to gratify good citizens, and governs the masses with justice and for their benefit. And wealth he loves, but not that which is heavy with gold and silver, but that which is full of the true good-will of his friends,[3] and service without flattery. Though by nature he is brave and gallant, he takes no pleasure in war, and detests civil discord, though when men do attack him, whether from some chance, or by reason of their own wickedness, he resists them bravely and defends himself with energy, and carries through his enterprises to the end, not desisting till he has destroyed the power of the foe and made it subject to himself.

[1] "Huckster" (κάπηλος) Herodotus 3. 89.

[2] Or Sarabos, a Plataean wineseller at Athens; Plato, *Gorgias* 518 B; perhaps to be identified with the *Vinarius Exaerambus* in Plautus, *Asinaria* 436; cf. Themistius 297 D.

[3] A saying of Alexander, cf. Themistius 203 C; Stobaeus, *Sermones* 214; Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 21.

ἔπαυσε τὸ ξίφος φόνων, μίασμα κρίνων τὸν οὐκ ἀμυνόμενον ἔτι κτείνειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν. φιλόπονος δὲ ὢν φύσει καὶ μεγαλόψυχος κοινωνεῖ μὲν ἅπασι τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἔχειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ πλέον ἀξιοῖ, μεταδίδωσι δὲ ἐκείνοις τῶν κινδύνων τὰ ἔπαθλα, χαίρων καὶ γεγηθὼς οὔτι τῷ πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐπαύλεις κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ κατεσκευασμένας, D ἀλλὰ τῷ πολλοὺς μὲν εὖ ποιεῖν δύνασθαι, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ ἅπασιν ὅτου ἂν τύχωσιν ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες· τούτων αὑτὸν ὅ γε ἀληθινὸς ἀξιοῖ βασιλεύς. φιλόπολις[1] δὲ ὢν καὶ φιλοστρατιώτης τῶν μὲν καθάπερ νομεὺς ποιμνίων ἐπιμελεῖται, προνοῶν ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ θάλλῃ καὶ εὐθηνῆται τὰ θρέμματα δαψιλοῦς καὶ ἀταράχου τῆς νομῆς ἐμπιμπλάμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐφορᾷ καὶ συνέχει, πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ πρᾳότητα γυμνάζων καθάπερ σκύλακας εὐφυεῖς καὶ γενναίους τῆς ποίμνης φύλακας, 87 ἔργων τε αὑτῷ κοινωνοὺς καὶ ἐπικούρους τῷ πλήθει νομίζων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ ἁρπακτῆράς τινας οὐδὲ λυμεῶνας τῶν ποιμνίων καθάπερ οἱ λύκοι καὶ κυνῶν οἱ φαυλότατοι, οἳ[2] τῆς αὑτῶν φύσεως καὶ τροφῆς ἐπιλαθόμενοι ἀντὶ σωτήρων καὶ προαγωνιστῶν ἀνεφάνησαν αὐτοὶ δηλήμονες· οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπνηλοὺς ἀνέξεται εἶναι καὶ ἀργοὺς καὶ ἀπολέμους, ὅπως ἂν μὴ φυλάκων ἑτέρων οἱ φρουροὶ δέωνται, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς[3] B ἄρχουσιν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ μόνον ἀπόχρη σωτήριον ἐπιτήδευμα

[1] φιλοπολίτης Hertlein suggests, but cf. Isocrates *To Nicocles* 15. [2] οἳ Hertlein adds. [3] τοῖς Hertlein suggests.

But after he has conquered by force of arms, he makes his sword cease from slaughter, because he thinks that for one who is no longer defending himself to go on killing and laying waste is to incur pollution. And being by nature fond of work, and great of soul, he shares in the labours of all; and claims the lion's share of those labours, then divides with the others the rewards for the risks which he has run, and is glad and rejoices, not because he has more gold and silver treasure than other men, and palaces adorned with costly furniture, but because he is able to do good to many, and to bestow on all men whatever they may chance to lack. This is what he who is truly a king claims for himself. And since he loves both the city and the soldiers,[1] he cares for the citizens as a shepherd for his flock, planning how their young may flourish and thrive, eating their full of abundant and undisturbed pasture; and his soldiers he oversees and keeps together, training them in courage, strength and mercy, like well-bred dogs, noble guardians of the flock,[2] regarding them both as the partners of his exploits and the protectors of the masses, and not as spoilers and pillagers of the flock, like wolves and mongrel dogs which, forgetting their own nature and nuture, turn out to be marauders instead of preservers and defenders. Yet on the other hand, he will not suffer them to be sluggish, slothful and unwarlike, lest the guardians should themselves need others to watch them, nor disobedient to their officers, because he knows that obedience above all else, and sometimes alone, is the saving discipline in

[1] Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 15; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* i. 28.
[2] *Republic* 416 A.

πρὸς πόλεμον· πόνων δὲ ἁπάντων ἀδεεῖς[1] καὶ
ἀτεράμονας, οὔτι ῥᾳθύμους ἐργάσεται, ἐπιστά-
μενος ὅτι μὴ μέγα ὄφελος φύλακος τὸν πόνον
φεύγοντος καὶ οὐ δυναμένου καρτερεῖν οὐδὲ ἀντέ-
χειν πρὸς κάματον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ παραινῶν μόνον
οὐδὲ ἐπαινῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προθύμως καὶ χαριζό-
μενος ἢ κολάζων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ξυμ- C
πείθει καὶ βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸν
τοιοῦτον ἐπιδεικνύων, ἀπεχόμενος μὲν ἡδονῆς
ἁπάσης, χρημάτων δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σμικρὸν οὔτε
μεῖζον ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἀφαιρούμενος τῶν ὑπηκόων,
ὕπνῳ τε εἴκων ὀλίγα καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ἀποστρε-
φόμενος, ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιος
καθεύδων ἀνὴρ ἢ καὶ ἐγρηγορὼς τοῖς καθεύδουσιν
ἐμφερής. πειθομένους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἕξει καλῶς αὐτῷ
τε οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, εἰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις D
πειθόμενος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ὀρθοῖς ξυνεπόμενος
διατάγμασι δῆλος εἴη, καὶ ὅλως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
ἀποδοὺς τῷ φύσει βασιλικῷ καὶ ἡγεμονικῷ τῆς
ψυχῆς μορίῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ θυμοειδεῖ καὶ ἀκο-
λάστῳ. καὶ καρτερεῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπομένειν τόν τε
ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κάματον ὁπόσα
τε κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξηυρέθη γυμνάσια μελέτης
ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὀθνείους ἀγῶνας, πῶς ἄν
τις μάλιστα πείσας εἴη,[2] ἢ δῆλον ὡς αὐτὸς ὁρώ-
μενος καρτερὸς καὶ ἀδαμάντινος; ἔστι γὰρ ἀλη- 88
θῶς ἥδιστον θέαμα στρατιώτῃ πονουμένῳ σώφρων
αὐτοκράτωρ, συνεφαπτόμενος ἔργων καὶ προθυ-

[1] ἀδεεῖς Reiske, ἐνδεεῖς MSS., Hertlein.
[2] πείσας εἴη Naber, cf. 272 D 281 A, πείσειεν Hertlein, πεισθείη MSS.

war. And he will train them to be hardy and not afraid of any labour, and never indolent, for he knows that there is not much use in a guardian who shirks his task and cannot hold out or endure fatigue. And not only by exhorting, or by his readiness to praise the deserving or by rewarding and punishing severely and inexorably, does he win them over to this and coerce them; but far rather does he show that he is himself what he would have them be, since he refrains from all pleasure, and as for money desires it not at all, much or little, nor robs his subjects of it; and since he abhors indolence he allows little time for sleep, For in truth no one who is asleep is good for anything,[1] nor if, when awake he resembles those who are asleep. And he will, I think, succeed in keeping them wonderfully obedient to himself and to their officers, since he himself will be seen to obey the wisest laws and to live in accordance with right precepts, and in short to be under the guidance of that part of the soul which is naturally kingly and worthy to take the lead, and not of the emotional or undisciplined part. For how could one better persuade men to endue and undergo fatigue, not only in a campaign and under arms, but also in all those exercises that have been invented in times of peace to give men practice for conflicts abroad, than by being clearly seen to be oneself strong as adamant? For in truth the most agreeable sight for a soldier, when he is fighting hard, is a prudent commander who takes an active part in the work in hand, himself zealous while exhorting his men, who is cheerful and

[1] Plato, *Laws* 808 B.

μούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσι φοβεροῖς φαιδρὸς καὶ ἀδεὴς καὶ ὅπου λίαν θαρροῦσι σεμνὸς καὶ ἐμβριθής. πέφυκε γὰρ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐλαβείας πέρι καὶ θράσους. προνοητέον δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ μεῖον ὅπως ἄφθονον τὴν τροφὴν ἔχωσι καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδέωνται. B
πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πιστότατοι τῶν ποιμνίων φρουροὶ καὶ φύλακες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἄγριοί τέ εἰσι τοῖς νομεῦσι καὶ αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν ἰδόντες περιυλακτοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν προβάτων ἀπέσχοντο.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων ὁ γενναῖος, πόλει δὲ σωτὴρ καὶ κηδεμών, οὔτι τοὺς ἔξωθεν μόνον ἀπείργων κινδύνους οὐδὲ ἀντιταττόμενος ἢ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύων βαρβάροις γείτοσι· στάσιν δὲ ἐξαιρῶν καὶ ἔθη μοχθηρὰ καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ ἀκο- C
λασίαν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν παρέξει ῥαστώνην. ὕβριν δὲ ἐξείργων καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀμέτρου κτήσεως τὰς[1] ἐκ τούτων ἀναφυομένας στάσεις καὶ ἔριδας εἰς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν τελευτώσας οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέξεται φῦναι, γενομένας δὲ ὡς ἔνι τάχιστα ἀφανιεῖ[2] καὶ ἐξελάσει τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως. λήσεται δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ὑπερβὰς τὸν νόμον καὶ βιασάμενος, οὐ[3] μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων τις τὸν χάρακα. φύλαξ δὲ ὢν D
ἀγαθὸς τῶν νόμων, ἀμείνων ἔσται δημιουργός, εἴ ποτε καιρὸς καὶ τύχη καλοίη· καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ πείθει τὸν τοιοῦτον ψευδῆ καὶ κίβδηλον καὶ νόθον

[1] Before τὰς Hertlein omits καὶ.
[2] ἀφανιεῖ Cobet, ἀφανίσει MSS., Hertlein.
[3] οὐ Hertlein adds.

calm in what seems to be a dangerous situation, but on occasion stern and severe whenever they are over confident. For in the matter of caution or boldness the subordinate naturally imitates his leader. And he must plan as well, no less than for what I have mentioned, that they may have abundant provisions and run short of none of the necessaries of life. For often the most loyal guardians and protectors of the flock are driven by want to become fierce towards the shepherds, and when they see them from afar they bark at them and do not even spare the sheep.[1]

Such then is the good king at the head of his legions, but to his city he is a saviour and protector, not only when he is warding off dangers from without or repelling barbarian neighbours or invading them; but also by putting down civil discord, vicious morals, luxury and profligacy, he will procure relief from the greatest evils. And by excluding insolence, lawlessness, injustice and greed for boundless wealth, he will not permit the feuds that arise from these causes and the dissensions that end in disaster to show even the first sign of growth, and if they do arise he will abolish them as quickly as possible and expel them from his city. And no one who transgresses and violates the law will escape his notice, no more than would an enemy in the act of scaling his defences. But though he is a good guardian of the laws, he will be still better at framing them, if ever occasion and chance call on him to do so. And no device can persuade one of his character to add to the statutes a false and spurious and bastard law, any more than he would

[1] *Republic* 416 A.

τοῖς κειμένοις ἐπεισάγειν νόμον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αὑτοῦ παισὶ δούλειον καὶ ἀγεννὲς ἐπεισαγαγεῖν[1] σπέρμα. δίκης δὲ αὐτῷ μέλει καὶ θέμιδος, καὶ οὔτε γονεῖς οὔτε ξυγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι πείθουσι καταχαρίσασθαί σφιν καὶ προδοῦναι τὸ ἔνδικον. 8
ὑπολαμβάνει γὰρ ἁπάντων εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα κοινὴν ἑστίαν καὶ μητέρα, πρεσβυτέραν μὲν καὶ σεμνοτέραν τῶν[2] πατέρων, φιλτέραν δὲ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ φίλων· ἧς ἀποσυλῆσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ βιάσασθαι μεῖζον ἀσέβημα κρίνει τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν παρανομίας. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἔκγονος[3] τῆς δίκης, ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα καὶ θεῖον ἀληθῶς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, ὃν οὐδαμῶς ὅ γε ἔμφρων ἀνὴρ περὶ σμικροῦ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀτιμάσει· ἀλλὰ ἐν B
δίκῃ πάντα δρῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τιμήσει προθύμως, τοὺς μοχθηροὺς δὲ ἐς δύναμιν ἰᾶσθαι καθάπερ ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμήσεται.

Διττῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποφαινόντων ἐλπίδας ἀμείνους καὶ οὐ πάντη τὴν θεραπείαν ἀπεστραμμένων, τῶν δὲ ἀνίατα πλημμελούντων· τούτοις δὲ οἱ νόμοι θάνατον λύσιν τῶν κακῶν ἐπενόησαν, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μᾶλλον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄλλων ὠφέλειαν· διττὰς C
δ' ἀνάγκη τὰς κρίσεις γίγνεσθαι. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν ἰασίμων αὑτῷ προσήκειν ὑπολήψεται τήν τε ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀφέξεται δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μάλα ἐρρωμένως, καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἑκὼν ἅψαιτο κρίσεως, ἐφ' ᾗ θάνατος ἡ ζημία παρὰ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ὠφληκόσι τὴν δίκην

[1] ἐπεισαγαγεῖν Hertlein, ἐπαγαγεῖν MSS.
[2] After τῶν Hertlein omits φίλων καί.
[3] ἔγγονος Hertlein, MSS.

introduce among his own sons a servile and vulgar strain. For he cares for justice and the right, and neither parents nor kinsfolk nor friends can persuade him to do them a favour and betray the cause of justice. For he looks upon his fatherland as the common hearth and mother of all, older and more reverend than his parents, and more precious than brothers or friends or comrades; and to defraud or do violence to her laws he regards as a greater impiety than sacrilegious robbery of the money that belongs to the gods. For law is the child of justice, the sacred and truly divine adjunct of the most mighty god, and never will the man who is wise make light of it or set it at naught. But since all that he does will have justice in view, he will be eager to honour the good, and the vicious he will, like a good physician, make every effort to cure.

But there are two kinds of error, for in one type of sinner may dimly be discerned a hope of improvement, nor do they wholly reject a cure, while the vices of others are incurable. And for the latter the laws have contrived the penalty of death as a release from evil, and this not only for the benefit of the criminal, but quite as much in the interest of others. Accordingly there must needs be two kinds of trials. For when men are not incurable the king will hold it to be his duty to investigate and to cure. But with the others he will firmly refuse to interfere, and will never willingly have anything to do with a trial when death is the penalty that has been ordained by the laws for the

προηγόρευται.[1] νομοθετῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων
ὕβριν μὲν καὶ χαλεπότητα καὶ πικρίαν τῶν τιμω-
ριῶν ἀφαιρήσει, ἀποκληρώσει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν
σωφρόνων καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου βάσανον οὐ φαύ- D
λην τῆς αὑτῶν ἀρετῆς παρασχομένων δικαστήριον,[2]
οἳ μηδὲν αὐθαδῶς μηδὲ ὁρμῇ τινι παντελῶς ἀλόγῳ
χρώμενοι, ἐν ἡμέρας μορίῳ σμικρῷ βουλευσάμενοι,
τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ βουλῇ δόντες, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς πολίτου
τὴν μέλαιναν οἴσουσι ψῆφον. αὐτῷ δὲ οὔτε ἐν
τῇ χειρὶ ξίφος εἰς πολίτου, κἂν ἀδικῇ τὰ ἔσχατα,
φόνον οὔτε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κέντρον ὑπεῖναι χρή,
ὅπου καὶ τὴν τῶν μελιττῶν ὁρῶμεν βασιλεύουσαν
καθαρὰν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πλήκτρου γενομένην. 90
ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰς μελίττας βλεπτέον, εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ
οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα οὗπερ εἶναι χρὴ
τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄρχοντα προφήτην καὶ ὑπηρέτην.
οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὲν ἀγαθὰ γέγονε παντελῶς τῆς
ἐναντίας ἄμικτα φύσεως καὶ ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, τούτων
δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν τε καὶ ἔστι δημιουργός· τὰ κακὰ
δὲ οὔτ᾽ ἐγέννησεν οὔτ᾽ ἐπέταξεν εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὰ
μὲν ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, περὶ δὲ τὴν γῆν B
στρεφόμενα καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποικίαν σταλεῖσαν
τῶν ψυχῶν διαλαβόμενα κρίνειν ἐπέταξε καὶ
διακαθαίρειν τοῖς αὑτοῦ παισὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις. τού-
των δὲ οἱ μέν εἰσι σωτῆρες καὶ ἐπίκουροι τῆς
ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπαραίτητοι κριταί,
τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὀξεῖαν καὶ δεινὴν ἐπάγοντες δίκην
ζῶσί τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀπολυθεῖσι τῶν σωμάτων,

[1] προηγόρευται Hertlein suggests, προαγορεύεται MSS.
[2] δικαστήριον Hertlein suggests, τὸ δικαστήριον MSS.

guilty. However, in making laws for such offences, he will do away with violence and harshness and cruelty of punishment, and will elect by lot, to judge them, a court of staid and sober men who throughout their lives have admitted the most rigid scrutiny of their own virtue, men who will not rashly, or led by some wholly irrational impulse, after deliberating for only a small part of the day, or it may be without even debating, cast the black voting-tablet in the case of a fellow-citizen. But in his own hand no sword should lie ready to slay a citizen, even though he has committed the blackest crimes, nor should a sting lurk in his soul, considering that, as we see, nature has made even the queen-bee free from a sting. However it is not to bees that we must look for our analogy, but in my opinion to the king of the gods himself, whose prophet and vice-regent the genuine ruler ought to be. For wherever good exists wholly untainted by its opposite, and for the benefit of mankind in common and the whole universe, of this good God was and is the only creator. But evil he neither created nor ordered to be,[1] but he banished it from heaven, and as it moves upon earth and has chosen for its abode our souls, that colony which was sent down from heaven, he has enjoined on his sons and descendants to judge and cleanse men from it. Now of these some are the friends and protectors of the human race, but others are inexorable judges who inflict on men harsh and terrible punishment for their misdeeds, both while they are alive and after they are set free from their bodies, and others again are as it

[1] Plato, *Theaetetus* 176 A.

οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ δήμιοι τιμωροί τινες καὶ ἀποπληρωταὶ τῶν δικασθέντων, ἕτερον τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀνοήτων δαιμόνων τὸ φῦλον· ἃ δὴ μιμητέον τῷ γενναίῳ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ, καὶ μεταδοτέον πολλοῖς μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς [1] διὰ φιλίας ἐς ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν προσληφθεῖσιν.[2] ἀρχὰς δὲ ἐπιτρεπτέον οἰκείας ἑκάστου τῇ φύσει καὶ προαιρέσει, τῷ μὲν ἀνδρώδει καὶ τολμηρῷ καὶ μεγαλοθύμῳ μετὰ ξυνέσεως στρατιωτικάς, ἵν' εἰς δέον ἔχῃ τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ, τῷ δικαίῳ δὲ καὶ πράῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον εὐχερῶς ἐπικλωμένῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν τὰς ἀμφὶ τὰ συναλλάγματα, βοηθείας τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ ἁπλουστέροις μηχανώμενον καὶ πένησι πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς καὶ ἀπατεῶνας καὶ πανούργους καὶ ἐπαιρομένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς τὸ βιάζεσθαι καὶ ὑπερορᾶν τῆς δίκης, τῷ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κεκραμένῳ μείζονα ἐν [3] τῇ πόλει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν περιθετέον, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων κρίσεις, οἷς ἕπεται τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις ἔνδικος ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων [4] ὀρθῶς ἂν καὶ ἐμφρόνως λογίζοιτο. κρίνας γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀδεκάστως ἅμα τοῖς συνέδροις παραδώσει τῷ δημίῳ τὰ γνωσθέντα ἐπιτελεῖν, οὔτε διὰ θυμοῦ μέγεθος οὔτε διὰ μαλακίαν ψυχῆς ἁμαρτάνων τοῦ φύσει δικαίου. κινδυνεύει δὲ ὁ κράτιστος ἐν πόλει τοιοῦτός τις εἶναι, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔχων ἀγαθά, τὰς δὲ οἷον κῆρας ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος

[1] τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς Reiske, ἀρετῆς MSS., Hertlein.
[2] κοινωνίαν προσληφθεῖσιν. Reiske, κοινωνίαν, MSS., Hertlein.
[3] μείζονα ἐν Hertlein suggests, μείζονά τε ἐν MSS.
[4] ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων Reiske, ἀδικουμένων, MSS., Hertlein.

were executioners and avengers who carry out the sentence, a different race of inferior and unintelligent demons. Now the king who is good and a favourite of the gods must imitate this example, and share his own excellence with many of his subjects, whom, because of his regard for them, he admits into this partnership; and he must entrust them with offices suited to the character and principles of each; military command for him who is brave and daring and high-spirited, but discreet as well, so that when he has need he may use his spirit and energy; and for him who is just and kind and humane and easily prone to pity, that office in the service of the state that relates to contracts, devising this means of protection for the weaker and more simple citizens and for the poor against the powerful, fraudulent and wicked and those who are so buoyed up by their riches that they try to violate and despise justice; but to the man who combines both these temperaments he must assign still greater honour and power in the state, and if he entrust to him the trials of offences for which are enacted just pains and penalties with a view to recompensing the injured, that would be a fair and wise measure. For a man of this sort, together with his colleagues, will give an impartial decision, and then hand over to the public official the carrying out of the verdict, nor will he through excess of anger or tender-heartedness fall short of what is essentially just. Now the ruler in

ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων ἐκφεύγων. ἐφορῶν δὲ αὐτὸς ἅπαντα καὶ κατευθύνων καὶ ἄρχων ἀρχόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων καὶ διοικήσεων τεταγμένους καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων βουλῆς κοινωνοῦντας ἀγαθούς τε εἶναι καὶ ὅ,τι μάλιστα αὐτοῦ παραπλησίους εὔξεται γενέσθαι. αἱρήσεται δὲ οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὐδ' ἐθελήσει φαυλότερος εἶναι κριτὴς τῶν λιθογνωμόνων καὶ τῶν βασανιζόντων τὸ χρυσίον C
ἢ τὴν πορφύραν. τούτοις γὰρ οὐ μία ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀπόχρη, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες οἶμαι τῶν πανουργεῖν ἐθελόντων ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτεχνήματα εἰς δύναμιν ἅπασιν ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ ἀντέστησαν ἐλέγχους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τέχνης. ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς κακίας ὑπολαμβάνων, ὡς ἐστὶ ποικίλη καὶ ἀπατηλὴ καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι χαλεπώτατον τῶν ἐκείνης ἔργων, ὅτι δὴ ψεύδεται πολλάκις ἀρετὴν ὑποδυο- D
μένη καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ὀξύτερον ὁρᾶν ἢ καὶ ἀποκάμνοντας τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν ἐξέτασιν, τὸ παθεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ὀρθῶς φυλάξεται. ἑλόμενος δὲ ἅπαξ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔχων τούτοις ἐπιτρέψει τὴν τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἀρχόντων αἵρεσιν.

Νόμων μὲν δὴ πέρι καὶ ἀρχόντων τοιάδε γινώσκει. τοῦ πλήθους δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσιν οὔτε ἀργὸν οὔτε αὔθαδες ἀνέξεται εἶναι οὔτε μὴν ἐνδεὲς τῶν ἀναγκαίων· τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τῶν 9
γεωργῶν φῦλον ἀροῦντες καὶ φυτεύοντες τροφὴν

our state will be somewhat like this, possessing only what is good in both those qualities, and in every quality that I mentioned earlier avoiding a fatal excess.[1] And though he will in person oversee and direct and govern the whole, he will see to it that those of his officials who are in charge of the most important works and management and who share his councils for the general good, are virtuous men and as far as possible like himself. And he will choose them, not carelessly or at random, nor will he consent to be a less rigorous judge than a lapidary or one who tests gold plate or purple dye. For such men are not satisfied with one method of testing, but since they know, I suppose, that the wickedness and devices of those who are trying to cheat them are various and manifold, they try to meet all these as far as possible, and they oppose to them the tests derived from their art. So too our ruler apprehends that evil changes its face and is apt to deceive, and that the cruellest thing that it does is that it often takes men in by putting on the garb of virtue, and hoodwinks those who are not keen sighted enough, or who in course of time grow weary of the length of the investigation, and therefore he will rightly be on his guard against any such deception. But when once he has chosen them, and has about him the worthiest men, he will entrust to them the choice of the minor officials.

Such is his policy with regard to the laws and magistrates. As for the common people, those who live in the towns he will not allow to be idle or impudent, but neither will he permit them to be without the necessaries of life. And the farming class who live in the country, ploughing and sowing to

[1] Plato, *Laws* 937 D.

ἀποίσουσι τοῖς φύλαξι καὶ ἐπικούροις σφῶν, μισθὸν καὶ ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀναγκαίαν. οἰκοδομήματα δὲ Ἀσσύρια καὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ δαπανηρὰς λειτουργίας χαίρειν ἐάσαντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολλῇ τῶν τε ἔξωθεν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν οἴκοθεν καταβιώσονται, ἀγαπῶντες μὲν τὸν αἴτιον τῶν παρόντων σφίσι καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, ὑμνοῦντες δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπευχόμενοι, οὔτι πλαστῶς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ γλώττης, ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀγαθά. φθάνουσι δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς εὐχάς, καὶ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὰ θεῖα δόντες οὔτε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστέρησαν. εἰ δὲ τὸ χρεὼν βιάζοιτο κακῷ τῳ περιπεσεῖν, τούτων δὴ τῶν θρυλουμένων ἀνηκέστων, χορευτήν τε αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ συνέστιον, καὶ αὐτῷ κλέος καθ' ἅπαντας ἤγειραν ἀνθρώπους. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τῶν σοφῶν ἀκούω πολλάκις, καί με ὁ λόγος ἰσχυρῶς πείθει. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθον, μακρότερα μὲν τυχὸν ἴσως τοῦ καιροῦ φθεγγόμενος, ἐλάττονα δὲ οἶμαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως· καὶ ὅτῳ γέγονε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἐπακούειν ἐν φροντίδι, οὗτος ὅτι μὴ ψεύδομαι σαφῶς ἐπίσταται. ἑτέρα δέ ἐστιν αἰτία τοῦ μήκους τῆς μὲν εἰρημένης ἧττον ἀναγκαία, προσεχεστέρα δὲ οἶμαι τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ· τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀνηκόους ὑμᾶς εἶναι χρή.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπομνησθῶμεν μικρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὁπότε τῆς ὑπὲρ τούτων διηγήσεως ἀπεπαυόμεθα. ἔφαμέν που χρῆναι τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐπαίνων ἀκροατὰς οὐκ εἰς ταῦτα ὁρᾶν, ὧν ἡ τύχη καὶ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς πολ-

furnish food for their protectors and guardians, will receive in return payment in money, and the clothes that they need. But as for Assyrian palaces and costly and extravagant public services, they will have nothing to do with them, and will end their lives in the utmost peace as regards enemies at home and abroad, and will adore the cause of their good fortune as though he were a kindly deity, and praise God for him when they pray, not hypocritically or with the lips only, but invoking blessings on him from the bottom of their hearts. But the gods do not wait for their prayers, and unasked they give him celestial rewards, but they do not let him lack human blessings either; and if fate should compel him to fall into any misfortune, I mean one of those incurable calamities that people are always talking about, then the gods make him their follower and associate, and exalt his fame among all mankind. All this I have often heard from the wise, and in their account of it I have the firmest faith. And so I have repeated it to you, perhaps making a longer speech than the occasion called for, but too short in my opinion for the theme. And he to whom it has been given to hear such arguments and reflect on them, knows well that I speak the truth. But there is another reason for the length of my speech, less forcible, but I think more akin to the present argument. And perhaps you ought not to miss hearing this also,

In the first place, then, let me remind you briefly of what I said before, when I broke off my discourse for the sake of this digression. What I said was that, when serious-minded people listen to sincere panegyrics, they ought not to look to those things

λάκις μεταδίδωσιν, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἕξεις καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἧς μόνοις μέτεστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φύσει σπουδαίοις. εἶτα ἐντεῦθεν ἑλόντες[1] τοὺς ἑξῆς 92
ἐπεραίνομεν λόγους, ὡς πρὸς[2] κανόνα τινὰ καὶ στάθμην ἀπευθύνοντες, ᾗ τοὺς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἐπαίνους ἐναρμόττειν ἐχρῆν. καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν ἀληθὴς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος ἁρμονία πρὸς τοῦτο γέγονε τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ὄλβιος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ὄντως εὐδαίμων, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οἱ μεταλαβόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς· ὅστις δὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετο, τῶν πλέον ἀπολειφθέντων ἀμείνων καὶ εὐτυχέστερος· B
οἱ δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες παντελῶς ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τραπόμενοι δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ μοχθηροί, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιοι συμφορῶν.

Εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταύτῃ πῃ ξυνδοκεῖ, ὥρα ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς ἔργοις, ἃ τεθαυμάκαμεν. καὶ ὅπως μή τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸν λόγον καθ' αὑτὸν ἰόντα, καθάπερ ἵππον ἀνταγωνιστοῦ στερόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, κρατεῖν καὶ ἀποφέρειν τὰ νικητήρια, πειράσομαι, πῇ ποτε διαφέρετον ἀλλήλων ὅ τε ἡμέτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν σοφῶν ῥητόρων ἔπαινος, δεῖξαι. C
οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν τὸ προγόνων γενέσθαι δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων θαυμάζουσι μάλα, ὀλβίων καὶ εὐδαιμόνων μακαρίους ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐκγόνους· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε ἐνενόησαν οὔτε ἐσκέψαντο, τίνα τρόπον διατελοῦσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς[3] χρώμενοι.

[1] ἑλόντες Cobet, ἑλόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν MSS., Hertlein.
[2] ὡς πρὸς Cobet, ὥσπερ MSS., Hertlein.
[3] τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς Hertlein suggests, ἀλλήλοις MSS.

of which fortune often grants a share even to the wicked, but to the character of the man and his virtues, which belong only to those who are good and by nature estimable; and, taking up my tale at that point, I pursued the arguments that followed, guiding myself as it were by the rule and measure to which one ought to adjust the eulogies of good men and good kings. And when one of them harmonises exactly and without variation with this model, he is himself happy and truly fortunate, and happy are those who have a share in such a government as his. And he who comes near to being like him is better and more fortnnate than those who fall further short of him. But those who fail altogether to resemble him, or who follow an opposite course, are ill-fated, senseless and wicked, and cause the greatest disasters to themselves and others.

And now if you are in any way of my opinion, it is time to proceed to those achievements that we have so admired. And lest any should think that my argument is running alone, like a horse in a race that has lost its competitor and for that reason wins and carries off the prizes, I will try to show in what way my encomium differs from that of clever rhetoricians. For they greatly admire the fact that a man is born of ancestors who had power or were kings, since they hold that the sons of the prosperous and fortunate are themselves blest. But the question that next arises they neither think of nor investigate, I mean how they employed their

καίτοι γε τοῦτο ἦν τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐκείνης τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν· εἰ μή τις καὶ πρὸς τοὔνομα δυσχεραίνει, τὴν κτῆσιν D ὑπὸ τῆς ἔμφρονος χρήσεως ἀγαθὴν καὶ φαύλην ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας γίγνεσθαι συμβαίνειν· ὥστε οὐ μέγα, καθάπερ οἴονται, τὸ βασιλέως πλουσίου καὶ πολυχρύσου γενέσθαι, μέγα δὲ ἀληθῶς τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν πατρῴαν ὑπερβαλλόμενον ἄμεμπτον αὑτὸν τοῖς γειναμένοις παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπαν.

Βούλεσθε οὖν εἰ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει βασιλεῖ καταμαθεῖν; παρέξομαι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ μαρτυρίαν πιστήν, καί με οὐχ αἱρήσετε ψευδομαρτυρίων,[1] εὖ οἶδα· 9 ὑπομνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς[2] ὧν ἴστε· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἤδη τοῦ λεγομένου ξυνίετε, εἴ τε οὔπω δῆλον, αὐτίκα μάλα ξυνήσετε ἐννοήσαντες πρῶτον μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἠγάπα διαφερόντως, οὔτι πρᾷος ὢν λίαν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις οὐδὲ τῇ φύσει πλέον ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ διδούς, ἡττώμενος δὲ οἶμαι τῆς θεραπείας καὶ οὐκ ἔχων, ὅ,τι μέμφοιτο, δῆλος ἦν εὔνους ὤν. B καὶ αὐτοῦ σημεῖον τῆς γνώμης, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Κωνσταντίῳ ταύτην ἐξεῖλε τὴν μοῖραν, ἣν αὐτῷ πρότερον προσήκειν ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν, εἶθ' ὅτι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον, τὸν πρεσβύτατον καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀφεὶς σχολὴν ἄγοντας, τοῦτον δὴ ἄσχολον ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπέτρεπε τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ξύμπαντα. γενόμενος δὲ ἐγκρατὴς ἁπάντων οὕτω

[1] ψευδομαρτυρίων Cobet, ψευδομαρτυριῶν Hertlein, V, M, ψευδομαρτυρίας MSS.

[2] ὑμᾶς Hertlein suggests, ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς MSS.

advantages throughout their lives. And yet, after all, this is the chief cause of that happiness, and of almost all external goods. Unless indeed someone objects to this statement that it is only by wise use of it that property becomes a good, and that it is harmful when the opposite use is made. So that it is not a great thing, as they think, to be descended from a king who was wealthy and "rich in gold," but it is truly great, while surpassing the virtue of one's ancestors, to behave to one's parents in a manner beyond reproach in all respects.

Do you wish to learn whether this is true of the Emperor? I will offer you trustworthy evidence, and I know well that you will not convict me of false witness. For I shall but remind you of what you know already. And perhaps you understand even now what I mean, but if it is not yet evident you very soon will, when you call to mind that the Emperor's father loved him more than the others, though he was by no means over-indulgent to his children, for it was character that he favoured rather than the ties of blood; but he was, I suppose, won over by the Emperor's dutiful service to him, and as he had nothing to reproach him with, he made his affection for him evident. And a proof of his feeling is, first, that he chose for Constantius that portion of the empire which he had formerly thought best suited to himself, and, secondly, that when he was at the point of death he passed over his eldest[1] and youngest[2] sons, though they were at leisure, and summoned Constantius, who was not at leisure, and entrusted him with the whole government. And

[1] Constantine II. [2] Constans.

τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δικαίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως προσηνέχθη, ὥστε οἱ μὲν οὔτε κληθέντες οὔτε ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον καὶ διεμάχοντο, τούτῳ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐμέμφοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στάσις τέλος εἶχεν οὐκ εὐτυχές, ἐξὸν μεταποιεῖσθαι πλειόνων, ἑκὼν ἀφῆκε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνων πολλά τε ἔθνη καὶ ὀλίγα δεῖσθαι, περικεῖσθαι δέ, οἶμαι, φροντίδας μείζονας ὅτῳ πλειόνων ἀνάγκη τημελεῖν καὶ[1] κήδεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρυφῆς ὑπολαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι παρασκευὴν οὐδέ, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς πότους καὶ ἡδονὰς οἱ καταχρώμενοι μειζόνων εὐπορίαν προσόδων ἐπινοοῦσιν, οὕτω χρῆναι τὸν βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἀναιρεῖσθαι πόλεμον, ὅ,τι μὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων τῆς ὠφελείας ἕνεκα. οὐκοῦν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν τὸ πλέον ξυγχωρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ ἀρετῆς ἔλαττον ἔχων τῷ κρατίστῳ πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπέλαβε. καὶ ὅτι μὴ δέει μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκείνου παρασκευῆς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἠγάπα, τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἐμφανὲς ἔστω ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ξυμπεσὼν πόλεμος. ἐχρήσατο γοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου δυνάμεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις ὕστερον. πάλιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκεῖνοι μέν που τὸ νικᾶν τεθαυμάκασιν· ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺ πλέον τὸ ξὺν δίκῃ μὲν ἀνελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, διενεγκεῖν δὲ

[1] τημελεῖν καὶ Cobet, [ἐπιμελεῖν καὶ] Hertlein, who suggests κήδεσθαι καὶ ἐπαμύνειν, ἐπιμένειν M, ἐπισυνέχειν V, ἐπιμελεῖν MSS.

when he had become master of the whole, he behaved to his brothers at once so justly and with such moderation, that, while they who had neither been summoned nor had come of themselves quarrelled and fought with one another, they showed no resentment against Constantius, nor ever reproached him. And when their feud reached its fatal issue,[1] though he might have laid claim to a greater share of empire, he renounced it of his own free will, because he thought that many nations or few called for the exercise of the same virtues, and also, perhaps, that the more a man has to look after and care for the greater are the anxieties beset him. For he does not think that the imperial power is a means of procuring luxury, nor that, as certain men who have wealth and misapply it for drink and other pleasures set their hearts on lavish and ever-increasing revenues, this ought to be an emperor's policy, nor that he ought ever to embark on a war except only for the benefit of his subjects. And so he allowed his brother [2] to have the lion's share, and thought that if he himself possessed the smaller share with honour, he had the advantage in what was most worth having. And that it was not rather from fear of his brother's resources that he preferred peace, you may consider clearly proved by the war that broke out later. For he had recourse to arms later on against his brother's forces, but it was to avenge him.[3] And here again there are perhaps some who have admired him merely for having won the victory. But I admire far more the fact that it was with justice that he undertook the

[1] Constantine II was slain while marching against Constans. [2] Constans.

[3] Constans was slain by the soldiers of Magnentius.

ἀνδρείως καὶ μάλα ἐμπείρως, ἐπιθείσης δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς τύχης δεξιὸν χρήσασθαι τῇ νίκῃ σωφρόνως καὶ βασιλικῶς, καὶ ὅλως ἄξιον τοῦ κρατεῖν φανῆναι.

Βούλεσθε οὖν καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὀνομαστὶ καλῶμεν τοὺς μάρτυρας; καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐδείς πω πόλεμος συνέστη πρότερον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Μακεδόσιν, οἵπερ δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἐν δίκῃ γενέσθαι, τοσαύτην ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ παιδί που δῆλον, τοῖς μέν γε λίαν ἀρχαίων ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίας σφόδρα νεαρᾶς[1] οὔτ' εἰς παῖδας οὔτε εἰς ἐγγόνους γενομένης, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸν ἀφελόμενον καὶ ἀποστερήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων ἀπογόνους· Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ ὥρμητο

τίσασθαι Ἑλένης ὁρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε,

καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας ἐστράτευε γυναῖκα μίαν ἐκδικεῖν ἐθέλων. τῷ δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἦν νεαρὰ τὰ ἀδικήματα, ἦρχε δὲ οὐ κατὰ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πρίαμον ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ τυχὸν δι' ἀρετὴν ἢ κατὰ γένος προσηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιωθείς, ἀλλὰ ἀναιδὴς καὶ τραχὺς βάρβαρος τῶν ἑαλωκότων οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἔπραξε καὶ ὅπως ἦρχεν, οὔτε ἡδύ μοι λέγειν οὔτε ἐν καιρῷ· ἐν δίκῃ δὲ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπολέμησεν, ἀκηκόατε. τῆς δὲ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα σημεῖα, πιστότερα δέ, οἶμαι, τὰ ἔργα τῶν

[1] νεαρᾶς Hertlein suggests, νεωτέρας MSS.

war, and that he carried it through with great courage and skill, and, when fortune gave him a favourable issue, used his victory with moderation and in imperial fashion, and showed himself entirely worthy to overcome.

Now do you wish that, as though I were in a law-court, I should summon before you by name witnesses of this also? But it is plain even to a child that no war ever yet arose that had so good an excuse, not even of the Greeks against Troy or of the Macedonians[1] against the Persians, though these wars, at any rate, are thought to have been justified, since the latter was to exact vengeance in more recent times for very ancient offences, and that not on sons or grandsons, but on him[2] who had robbed and deprived of their sovereignty the descendants of those very offenders. And Agamemnon set forth

"To avenge the strivings and groans of Helen,"[3]

for it was because he desired to avenge one woman that he went to war with the Trojans. But the wrongs done to Constantius were still fresh, and he[4] who was in power was not, like Darius or Priam, a man of royal birth who, it may be, laid claim to an empire that belonged to him by reason of his birth or his family, but a shameless and savage barbarian who not long before had been among the captives of war.[5] But all that he did and how he governed is neither agreeable for me to tell nor would it be well-timed. And that the Emperor was justified in making war on him you have heard, and of his skill and courage what I said earlier is proof enough, but deeds are, I

[1] Under Alexander. [2] Darius III. [3] *Iliad* 2. 356.
[4] Magnentius. [5] cf. *Oration* I. 34 A.

λόγων. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενόμενα καὶ ὅπως ξίφους μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέησεν ἔτι, οὐδ᾽ εἴ τις ἀδικημάτων μειζόνων εἶχεν ὑποψίαν, οὐδὲ εἴ τῳ πρὸς τὸν 96
τύραννον οἰκειοτέρα γέγονε φιλία, οὐδὲ μὴν εἴ τις ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενος φέρειν τε ἠξίου κηρύκιον καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο βασιλεῖ, τῆς προπετείας ἀπέτισε δίκην, ὅ,τι μὴ τἆλλα μοχθηρὸς ἦν, ἐννοήσατε δὴ πρὸς φιλίου Διός. ποταπὸν δὲ χρῆμα λοιδορία; ὡς θυμοδακὲς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀμύττον ψυχὴν μᾶλλον ἢ σίδηρος χρῶτα; οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παρώξυνεν εἰς δύναμιν ἀμύνασθαι λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ· διηνέχθη γοῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου πρὸς τὸν ξενοδόκον αὐτὸς ὢν ἀλήτης καὶ ξένος, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδώς, ὅτι

Ἄφρων . . . καὶ οὐτιδανὸς πέλει ἀνήρ,
Ὅστις ξεινοδόκῳ ἔριδα προφέρῃσι βαρεῖαν,

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀχιλλέα τὸν Θέτιδος[1] καὶ ἄλλους δέ τινας οὐ φαύλους οὐδὲ ἀγεννεῖς ἀνθρώπους. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπῆρχεν, C
οἶμαι, Σωκράτει καὶ σπανίοις τισὶν ἐκείνου ζηλωταῖς, εὐδαίμοσιν ἀληθῶς καὶ μακαρίοις γενομένοις, τὸν ἔσχατον ἀποδύσασθαι χιτῶνα τῆς φιλοτιμίας. φιλότιμον γὰρ δεινῶς τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἔοικεν ἐμφύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ταῖς γενναίαις ψυχαῖς· ἄχθονται γὰρ ὡς ἐναντιωτάτῳ σφίσι λοιδορίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς ἀπορρίπτοντας ἐς αὐτοὺς D

[1] τὸν V, τὸν τῆς MSS.

think, more convincing than words. But what happened after the victory, and how he no longer made use of the sword, not even against those who were under suspicion of serious crimes, or who had been familiar friends of the usurper, nay not even against anyone who, to curry favour with the latter, had stooped to win a tale-bearer's fee by slandering the Emperor, consider, in the name of Zeus the god of friendship, that not even these paid the penalty of their audacity, except when they were guilty of other crimes. And yet what a terrible thing is slander! How truly does it devour the heart and wound the soul as iron cannot wound the body! This it was that goaded Odysseus to defend himself by word and deed. At any rate it was for this reason that he quarrelled with his host[1] when he was himself a wanderer and a guest, and though he knew that

"Foolish and of nothing worth is that man who provokes a violent quarrel with his host."[2]

And so it was with Alexander, Philip's son, and Achilles, son of Thetis, and others who were not worthless or ignoble men. But only to Socrates, I think, and a few others who emulated him, men who were truly fortunate and happy, was it given to put off the last garment that man discards—the love of glory.[3] For resentment of calumny is due to the passion for glory, and for this reason it is implanted most deeply in the noblest souls. For they resent it as their deadliest foe, and those who hurl at them slanderous language they

[1] Alcinous. [2] *Odyssey* 8. 209.

[3] Dioscorides in Athenaeus 507 D; Tacitus *Hist.* 4. 6; cf. Milton *Lycidas*,

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
"(That last infirmity of noble mind)."

τοιαῦτα ῥήματα μισοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐπάγοντας τὸν σίδηρον καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας φόνον, διαφόρους τε αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι φύσει καὶ οὐ νόμῳ, εἴ γε οἱ μὲν ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς ἐρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἀφαιροῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μηχανῶνται βλασφημίας ψευδεῖς. τούτου καὶ Ἡρακλέα φασὶ καὶ ἄλλους δέ τινας ἀκράτορας τοῦ πάθους γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε περὶ ἐκείνων τῷ λόγῳ πείθομαι, καὶ βασιλέα τεθέαμαι σφόδρα ἐγκρατῶς τὴν λοιδορίαν ἀποτρεψάμενον,[1] οὔτι φαυλότερον 97
ἔργον, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῦ Τροίαν ἑλεῖν καὶ φάλαγγα γενναίαν τρέψασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις καὶ οὐ μέγα οἴεται οὐδὲ ἄξιον ἐπαίνων τοσούτων, ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶν, ὅταν ἔν τινι τοιαύτῃ ξυμφορᾷ γένηται, κρινέτω, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ σφόδρα ληρεῖν δόξομεν, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν καὶ γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰκότως οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἀγαπητός, πολλοῖς[2] μὲν τιμῆς καὶ B
δυνάμεως καὶ παρρησίας μεταδιδούς, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄφθονα χαριζόμενος καὶ χρῆσθαι ὅπως τις βούλεται τῷ πλούτῳ ξυγχωρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοιοῦτος ἐδόκει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὑμῖν ἐμφανὲς καὶ τοῦδε γιγνέσθω· ἄνδρες, τῆς γερουσίας ὅτιπερ ὄφελος, ἀξιώσει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ξυνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ ἐς λιμένα καταφεύγοντες τὴν τούτου δεξιάν, ἑστίας τε

[1] ἀποτρεψάμενον Hertlein suggests, δεξάμενον Petavius, τρεψάμενον MSS.

[2] πολλοῖς fl., Hertlein prefers, πολλῆς MSS.

hate more than men who attack them with the sword or plot their destruction; and they regard them as differing from themselves, not merely in their acquired habits, but in their essential nature, seeing that they love praise and honour, and the slanderer not only robs them of these, but also manufactures false accusations against them. They say that even Heracles and certain other heroes were swayed by these emotions. But for my part I do not believe this account of them, and as for the Emperor I have seen him repelling calumny with great self-restraint, which in my judgment is no slighter achievement than "to take Troy"[1] or rout a powerful phalanx. And if anyone does not believe me, and thinks it no great achievement nor worth all these praises, let him observe himself when a misfortune of this sort happens to him, and then let him decide; and I am convinced that he will not think that I am talking with exceeding folly.

Now since this was and is the Emperor's behaviour after the war, he is naturally loved and "longed for by his friends,"[2] since he has admitted many of them to honour and power and freedom of speech, and has bestowed on them as well vast sums of money, and permits them to use their wealth as they please; but even to his enemies he is the same. The following may serve as a clear proof of this. Those members of the Senate who were of any account and surpassed the rest in reputation and wealth and wisdom, fled to the shelter of his right hand as though to a harbour, and, leaving behind their hearths and

[1] A proverb, cf. Euripides, *Andromache* 368.
[2] Aristophanes, *Frogs* 84.

λιπόντες καὶ οἴκους καὶ παῖδας Παιονίαν μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, τὴν μετὰ τούτου δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν φιλτάτων συνουσίαν ἠσπάσαντο, ἴλη τε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ξὺν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄγουσα τούτῳ τοῦ κινδύνου ξυμμετέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἠξίου. καὶ ταῦτα ἅπαντα ἐδρᾶτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δράου ταῖς ἠόσιν ὁ πρόσθεν λόγος παρέστησεν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἤδη βεβαίως ἐθάρρουν, τέως δ' ἐδόκει τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἐπικρατεῖν, πλεονεκτήματός τινος περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους τοὺς[1] βασιλέως γενομένου, ὃ δὴ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἄφρονα καὶ ἐξετάραττε τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ἐφικνεῖσθαι οὐδὲ διορᾶν τὴν στρατηγίαν. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ γεννάδας καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς νεὼς κυβερνήτης, ἐξαπίνης νεφῶν ῥαγείσης λαίλαπος, εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σείοντος τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τὰς ἠόνας. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀπείρους δεινὸν καὶ ἄτοπον κατέλαβε δέος, ὁ δὲ ἤδη χαίρει καὶ γάνυται, γαλήνην ἀκριβῆ καὶ νηνεμίαν ἐλπίζων. λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν συνταράττων τὴν γῆν παύειν τὰ κύματα. καὶ ἡ τύχη δὲ τοὺς ἀνοήτους ἐξαπατᾷ καὶ σφάλλει περὶ τοῖς μείζοσι, μικρὰ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσα, τοῖς ἔμφροσι δὲ τὸ βεβαίως θαρσεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειζόνων, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν αὐτοὺς διαταράττῃ, παρέχει. τοῦτο Λακεδαιμόνιοι παθόντες ἐν Πύλαις οὐκ ἀπηγόρευον οὐδὲ ἔδεισαν τὸν Μῆδον ἐπιφερόμενον,

C D 98 B

[1] τοὺς Hertlein suggests, τοῦ MSS.

homes and children, preferred Paeonia[1] to Rome, and to be with him rather than with their dearest. Again, a division of the choicest of the cavalry together with their standards, and bringing their general[2] with them, chose to share danger with him rather than success with the usurper. And all this took place before the battle on the banks of the Drave, which the earlier part of my speech described to you. For after that they began to feel perfect confidence, though before that it looked as though the usurper's cause was getting the upper hand, when he gained some slight advantage in the affair of the Emperor's scouts,[3] which indeed made the usurper beside himself with joy and greatly agitated those who were incapable of grasping or estimating generalship. But the Emperor was unperturbed and heroic, like a good pilot when a tempest has suddenly burst from the clouds, and next moment, the god shakes the depths and the shores. Then a terrible and dreadful panic seizes on those who are inexperienced, but the pilot begins to rejoice, and is glad, because he can now hope for a perfect and windless calm. For it is said that Poseidon, when he makes the earth quake, calms the waves. And just so fortune deceives the foolish and deludes them about more important things by allowing them some small advantage, but in the wise she inspires unshaken confidence about more serious affairs even when she disconcerts them in the case of those that are less serious. This was what happened to the Lacedaemonians at Pylae,[4] but they did not despair nor fear the onset of the Mede because they had lost

[1] Pannonia.
[2] Silvanus, cf. *Oration* 1. 60.
[3] cf. *Oration* 1. 35 C.
[4] Thermopylae.

τριακοσίους Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλεα περι τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος προέμενοι· τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι πολλάκις παθόντες μείζονα κατώρθουν ὕστερον· ὃ δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐννοῶν καὶ λογιζόμενος οὐδαμῶς ἐσφάλη τῆς γνώμης.

Ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ἅπαξ ἑκὼν ὁ λόγος ἐς τοῦτο ἀφῖκται καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, οἵπερ δὴ ξυμφυλάττουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπείργουσι τοὺς πολεμίους, διηγεῖται· βούλεσθε ὑμῖν ἐναργὲς εἴπω τεκμήριον C
χθές που ἢ καὶ πρῴην γενόμενον; ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπιταχθέντων τοῖς ἐν Γαλατίᾳ στρατοπέδοις· ἴστε ἴσως καὶ τοὔνομα καὶ τὸν τρόπον· ὅμηρον φιλίας καὶ πίστεως ἀπέλιπεν οὐδὲν δεομένῳ βασιλεῖ τὸν παῖδα· εἶτα ἦν ἀπιστότερος τῶν λεόντων, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι, φησί, πρὸς ἄνδρας[1] ὅρκια πιστά, ἁρπάζων τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰ χρήματα καὶ διανέμων τοῖς D
ἐπιοῦσι βαρβάροις καὶ ὥσπερ λύτρα καταβαλλόμενος, ἐξὸν τῷ σιδήρῳ παρασκευάζειν καὶ οὐ τοῖς χρήμασι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ὑπήγετο διὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς εὔνοιαν· καὶ τέλος ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀνελόμενος ἁλουργὲς ἱμάτιον γελοῖος ἀληθῶς τύραννος καὶ τραγικὸς ὄντως ἀνεφάνη. ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς μὲν εἶχον πρὸς τὴν ἀπιστίαν, θῆλυν δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένοντες ὁρᾶν ἐνδεδυκότα στολὴν τὸν δείλαιον 9

1 [Ὅμηρος] ὅρκια Hertlein.

three hundred Spartans and their king[1] at the entrance into Greece. This often happened to the Romans, but they achieved more important successes later on. Wherefore, since the Emperor knew this and counted on it, he in no way wavered in his purpose.

But seeing that my argument has, of its own accord, once reached this point and is describing the affection that the Emperor inspires in the common people, the magistrates, and the garrisons who aid him to protect the empire and repulse its enemies, are you willing that I should relate to you a signal proof of this, which happened, one may say, yesterday or the day before? A certain man[2] who had been given the command of the garrisons in Galatia—you probably know his name and character—left his son behind him as a hostage for his friendship and loyalty to the Emperor, though not at the Emperor's request. Then he proved to be more treacherous than "lions who have no faithful covenants with man,"[3] as the poet says, and plundered the cities of their wealth and distributed it among the invading barbarians, paying it down as a sort of ransom, though he was well able to take measures to win security by the sword rather than by money. But he tried to win them over to friendliness by means of money. And finally he took from the women's apartments a purple dress, and showed himself truly a tyrant and tragical indeed. Then the soldiers, resenting his treachery, would not tolerate the sight of him thus dressed up in women's garb,[4] and they set on the miserable wretch and tore him limb from limb,[5] nor would they

[1] Leonidas. [2] Silvanus. [3] *Iliad* 22. 262.
[4] Euripides, *Bacchae* 822. [5] cf. *Oration* 1. 48 C.

ἐπιθέμενοι σπαράττουσιν, οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς σελήνης κύκλον ἄρξαι σφῶν ἀνασχόμενοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῆς τῶν φυλάκων εὐνοίας ὑπῆρξε βασιλεῖ τὸ γέρας, ἀρχῆς ἀμεμφοῦς καὶ δικαίας ἀμοιβὴ θαυμαστή. ὅστις δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ γέγονε ποθεῖτε ἀκούειν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς λέληθεν, ὅτι μήτε ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα χαλεπὸς μήτε ἐς τοὺς φίλους ὕποπτος καὶ δεινὸς εἵλετο γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὡς B
ἔνι μάλιστα πρᾴως εἶχε καὶ εὐμενὴς πᾶσιν ἦν καίτοι πολλῶν συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελόντων καὶ διηρμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐκ αἰτίους τὰ κέντρα. πολλῶν δὲ τυχὸν ἀληθῶς ἐνόχων ὄντων ταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποψίαις, ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ἦν πρᾷος τοῖς οὐκ ἐξελεγχθεῖσιν[1] οὐδὲ ἀποφανθεῖσι κοινωνοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ ἐξαγίστων βουλευμάτων. τὴν δὲ ἐς τὸν τοῦ παρανομήσαντος παῖδα καὶ πατήσαντος πίστιν καὶ ὅρκια φειδὼ ἆρα βασιλικὸν C
ἀληθῶς καὶ θεῖον φήσομεν, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀποδεξόμεθα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα χαλεπαίνοντα καὶ πικραινόμενον τῶν Τρώων οὐ τοῖς ξυνεξελθοῦσι μόνον τῷ Πάριδι καὶ καθυβρίσασι τοῦ Μενέλεω τὴν ἑστίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κυουμένοις ἔτι καὶ ὧν τυχὸν οὐδὲ αἱ μητέρες τότ' ἐγεγόνεσαν, ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος τὰ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐνενόει; εἰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὠμόν τις οἴεται καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον D
ἥκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν, τὸ πρᾷον δὲ οἶμαι καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἁρμόττειν ἥκιστα μὲν χαίροντι τιμωρίαις, ἀχθομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφοραῖς, ὅπως ἂν γίγνωνται, εἴτε

[1] ἐξελεγχθεῖσιν Hertlein suggests, ἐλεγχθεῖσιν MSS.

endure either that the crescent moon[1] should rule over them. Now it was the affection of his garrison that gave the Emperor this guerdon, a wonderful recompense for his just and blameless rule. But you are eager to hear how he behaved after this. This too, however, you cannot fail to know, that he chose neither to be harsh towards that man's son[2] nor suspicious and formidable to his friends, but in the highest possible degree he was merciful and kindly to them all, though many desired to bring false accusations[3] and had raised their stings to strike the innocent. But though many were perhaps really involved in the crimes of which they were suspected, he was merciful to all alike, provided they had not been convicted or proved to be partners in the usurper's monstrous and abominable schemes. And shall we not declare that the forbearance shown by him towards the son of one who had broken the laws and trampled on loyalty and sworn covenants was truly royal and godlike; or shall we rather approve Agamemnon, who vented his rage and cruelty not only on those Trojans who had accompanied Paris and had outraged the hearth of Menelaus, but even on those who were yet unborn, and whose mothers even were perhaps not yet born when Paris plotted the rape? Anyone therefore who thinks that cruelty and harshness and inhumanity ill become a king, and that mercy and goodness and human kindness befit one who takes no pleasure in acts of vengeance, but grieves at the misfortunes of his subjects, however they may arise, whether from their

[1] His Oriental dress suggested Persian rule, symbolised by the crescent.
[2] cf. *Oration* I. 49 A. [3] cf. *Oration* I. 48 C, D.

κακίᾳ σφῶν καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ, εἴτε ἔξωθεν παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐπάγοιντο, δῆλός ἐστι τούτῳ διδοὺς τὰ νικητήρια. ἐννοεῖτε γάρ, ὡς περὶ τὸν παῖδα γέγονε τοῦ φύσαντος ἀμείνων καὶ δικαιότερος, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους πιστότερος τοῦ τὴν 10
φιλίαν ὁμολογήσαντος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας προεῖτο, ὁ δὲ ἀπέσωσεν ἅπαντας. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγνωκὼς[1] τρόπου ἅτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατανοήσας σφόδρα ἐπίστευεν, ἀσφαλῶς μέν οἱ τὰ τοῦ παιδός, βεβαίως δὲ ὁρμεῖν τὰ τῶν φίλων, συνίει μὲν ὀρθῶς, πολλάκις δὲ ἦν πανοῦργος καὶ μοχθηρὸς καὶ δυστυχής, πολέμιος ἐθέλων εἶναι τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ ὃν σφόδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαφερόντως πρᾷον B
ἠπίστατο μισῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ ἀφαιρούμενος ὧν οὐδαμῶς ἐχρῆν. εἰ δέ, ἀνελπίστου μέν οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς σωτηρίας τυγχανούσης, χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ ἀδυνάτου τῆς[2] τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν, τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὅμως προείλετο, ὁ μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μοχθηρὸς καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ ἀγριώτερος τῶν θηρίων, ὁ δὲ ἥμερος καὶ πρᾷος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, τοῦ μὲν νηπίου κατελεήσας τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ C
οὐκ ἐξελεγχθεῖσι πρᾴως ἔχων, τοῦ δὲ ὑπεριδὼν καὶ καταφρονήσας τῶν πονηρευμάτων. ὁ γὰρ ἃ μηδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις διὰ μέγεθος ὧν αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ἀδικημάτων ἐλπίζει ξυγχωρῶν εἰκότως ἀρετῆς ἐστι

[1] ἐγνωκὼς τρόπου—κατανοήσας Hertlein suggests, ἐγνωκώς—τὸν τρόπον κατανοήσας MSS.
[2] τῆς Hertlein adds.

own wickedness and ignorance or aimed at them from without by fate, will, it is evident, award to the Emperor the palm of victory. For bear in mind that he was kinder and more just to the boy than his own father, and to the usurper's friends he was more loyal than he who acknowledged the tie of friendship. For the usurper forsook them all, but the Emperor saved them all. And if the usurper, knowing all this about the Emperor's character, since he had for a long time been able to observe it, was entirely confident that his son was safely at anchor and his friends securely also, then he did indeed understand him aright, but he was many times over criminal and base and accursed for desiring to be at enmity with such a man, and for hating one whom he knew to be so excellent and so surpassingly mild, and for plotting against him and trying to rob him of what it was a shame to take from him. But if, on the other hand, his son's safety was something that he had never hoped for, and the safety of his friends and kinsfolk he had thought difficult or impossible, and he nevertheless chose to be disloyal, this is yet another proof that he was wicked and infatuated and fiercer than a wild beast, and that the Emperor was gentle and mild and magnanimous, since he took pity on the youth of the helpless child, and was merciful to those who were not proved guilty, and ignored and despised the crimes of the usurper. For he who grants what not one of his enemies expects, because the guilt that is on their conscience is so great, beyond a doubt carries off the prize for virtue: for while he tempers justice with

νικηφόρος, τὴν δίκην μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ πρᾳότερον μετατιθείς, σωφροσύνῃ δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς τὸ μέτριον ἐπιτιθέντας ταῖς τιμωρίαις, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ διαφέρων τῷ μηδένα πολέμιον ἀξιόχρεων ὑπο- D
λαμβάνειν, φρόνησιν δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῷ συγκαταλύειν τὰς ἔχθρας καὶ οὐ παραπέμπειν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ εἰς ἐγγόνους προφάσει τῆς ἀκριβοῦς δίκης καὶ τοῦ βούλεσθαι[1] ἐπιεικῶς μάλα πίτυος δίκην τῶν πονηρῶν ἀφανίζειν τὰ σπέρματα. ἐκείνων γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τόδε, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰκόνα παλαιὸς ἀπέφηνε λόγος. ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς
βασιλεὺς μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς τὸν θεὸν οἶδε μὲν 10
καὶ ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἑσμοὺς μελιττῶν ἐξιπταμένους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δριμυτάτου ξύλου τὸν γλυκὺν καρπὸν φυόμενον, σῦκά φημι τὰ χαρίεντα, καὶ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν τὴν σίδην καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλλων φυόμενα ἀνόμοια τοῖς γεννῶσι καὶ ἀποτίκτουσιν. οὔκουν οἴεται ταῦτα χρῆναι πρὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς διαφθείρειν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἀπωσαμένοις τῶν πατέρων τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ τὴν μωρίαν B
ἀγαθοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ σώφροσι, ζηλωτὰς δὲ γενομένους τῶν πατρῴων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑφέξειν ἐν καιρῷ τὴν δίκην, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις ἔργοις καὶ ξυμφοραῖς παραναλωθέντας.

Ἆρ᾽ οὖν ὑμῖν ἱκανῶς δοκοῦμεν ἐκτετελεκέναι τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἔπαινον; ἢ ποθεῖτε ἀκούειν ὑμεῖς καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀήττητος, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε αἰσχρᾶς C
ἐπιθυμίας ἑάλω πώποτε, οὔτε οἰκίας καλῆς οὔτ᾽

[1] βούλεσθαι Hertlein suggests, βούλεσθαί περ MSS.

what is nobler and more merciful, in self-restraint he surpasses those who are merely moderate in their vengeance; and in courage he excels because he thinks no enemy worthy of notice; and his wisdom he displays by suppressing enmities and by not handing them down to his sons and descendants on the pretext of strict justice, or of wishing, and very reasonably too, to blot out the seed of the wicked like the seed of a pine-tree.[1] For this is the way of those trees, and in consequence an ancient tale[2] gave rise to this simile. But the good Emperor, closely imitating God, knows that even from rocks swarms of bees fly forth, and that sweet fruits grow even from the bitterest wood, pleasant figs, for instance, and from thorns the pomegranate, and there are other instances where things are produced entirely unlike the parents that begat them and brought them forth. Therefore he thinks that we ought not to destroy these before they have reached maturity, but to wait for time to pass, and to trust them to cast off the folly and madness of their fathers and become good and temperate, but that, if they should turn out to emulate their fathers' practices, they will in good time suffer punishment, but they will not have been uselessly sacrificed because of the deeds and misfortunes of others.

Now do you think I have made my sincere panegyric sufficiently thorough and complete? Or are you anxious to hear also about the Emperor's powers of endurance and his august bearing, and that not only is he unconquerable by the enemy, but has never yet succumbed to any disgraceful appetite, and

[1] A proverb; the pine when cut down does not send up shoots again.
[2] Herodotus 6. 37.

ἐπαύλεως πολυτελοῦς οὔτε ὅρμων σμαραγδίνων ἐπιθυμήσας ἀφείλετο βίᾳ ἢ καὶ πειθοῖ τοὺς κεκτημένους, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρας οὐδὲ θεραπαίνης, οὐδὲ ὅλως τὴν ἄδικον ἀφροδίτην ἠγάπησε, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ὧν ὧραι φύουσιν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἄμετρον ἀπαιτεῖ πλησμονήν, οὐδὲ αὐτῷ θέρους ὥρᾳ τοῦ κρυστάλλου μέλει, οὐδὲ μεταβάλλει πρὸς τὰς D ὥρας τὴν οἴκησιν, τοῖς πονουμένοις δὲ ἀεὶ πάρεστι τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρεσιν ἀντέχων καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρύος καὶ πρὸς τὰ θάλπη τὰ γενναῖα; τούτων δὲ εἴ με κελεύοιτε φέρειν ὑμῖν ἐμφανῆ τὰ τεκμήρια, γνώριμα μὲν ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσω, μακρὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ διωλύγιος, ἐμοί τε οὐ σχολὴ τὰς μούσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον θεραπεύειν, ἀλλ' ὥρα λοιπὸν πρὸς ἔργον τρέπεσθαι.

never coveted a fine house or a costly palace or a necklace of emeralds, and then robbed their owners of them either by violence or persuasion ; and that he has never coveted any free-born woman or handmaid or pursued any dishonourable passion; and that he does not even desire an immoderate surfeit of the good things that the seasons produce, or care for ice in summer, or change his residence with the time of year ; but is ever at hand to aid those portions of the empire that are in trouble, enduring both frost and extreme heat? But if you should bid me bring before you plain proofs of this, I shall merely say what is familiar to all, and I shall not lack evidence, but the account would be long, a monstrous speech, nor indeed have I leisure to cultivate the Muses to such an extent, for it is now time for me to turn to my work.[1]

[1] His campaign in Gaul.

ORATION III

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION III

The Third Oration is an expression of gratitude (χαριστήριος λόγος)[1] to the Empress Eusebia, the first wife of Constantius. After Julian's intractable step-brother Gallus Caesar had been murdered by the Emperor, he was summoned to the court at Milan, and there, awkward and ill at ease, cut off from his favourite studies and from the society of philosophers, surrounded by intriguing and unfriendly courtiers, and regarded with suspicion by the Emperor, Julian was protected, encouraged and advised by Eusebia. His praise and gratitude are, for once, sincere. The oration must have been composed either in Gaul or shortly before Julian set out thither after the dangerous dignity of the Caesarship had been thrust upon him. His sincerity has affected his style, which is simpler and more direct than that of the other two Panegyrics.

[1] cf. Quintilian 3. 7. 10. on the *Gratiarum actio.*

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΑΣ

ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Τί ποτε ἄρα χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων μεγάλα καὶ πέρα[1] μεγάλων, οὔτι φημὶ χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ ἁπλῶς ὅ,τι ἂν τύχῃ τις παρὰ τοῦ πέλας εὖ παθών· εἶτα τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀποτίνειν οὔτε ἐπιχειρούντων οὔτε διανοουμένων, ῥᾳθύμως δὲ καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ τὰ δυνατὰ ποιεῖν καὶ διαλύεσθαι τὸ ὄφλημα; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι φαύλους καὶ μοχθηροὺς νομιστέον; οὐδενὸς γὰρ οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ἔλαττον μισοῦμεν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ ὀνειδίζομεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν εὖ παθόντες περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὦσιν ἀχάριστοι· ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὗτος ἀχάριστος μόνον, ὅστις εὖ παθὼν δρᾷ κακῶς ἢ λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις σιωπᾷ καὶ ἀποκρύπτει, λήθῃ παραδιδοὺς καὶ ἀφανίζων τὰς χάριτας. καὶ τῆς μὲν θηριώδους ἐκείνης καὶ ἀπανθρώπου μοχθηρίας σφόδρα ὀλίγα καὶ εὐαρίθμητα κομιδῇ τὰ παραδείγματα· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀποκρύπτουσι τὸ δοκεῖν εὖ παθεῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ,τι βουλόμενοι· φασὶ δὲ ὅμως θωπείας τινὸς καὶ ἀγεννοῦς κολακείας τὴν δόξαν ἐκκλίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ

1 (line 1), B (line 7), C (line 17)

[1] πέρα Cobet, ὑπὲρ MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPRESS EUSEBIA

What, pray, ought we to think of those who owe things of price and beyond price—I do not mean gold or silver, but simply any benefit one may happen to receive from one's neighbour—suppose that they neither try nor intend to repay that kindness, but are indolent and do not trouble themselves to do what they can and try to discharge the debt? Is it not evident that we must think them mean and base? Far more I think than any other crime do we hate ingratitude, and we blame those persons who have received benefits and are ungrateful to their benefactors. And the ungrateful man is not only he who repays a kindness with evil deeds or words, but also he who is silent and conceals a kindness and tries to consign it to oblivion and abolish gratitude. Now of such brutal and inhuman baseness as the repayment with evil the instances are few and easily reckoned; but there are many who try to conceal the appearance of having received benefits, though with what purpose I know not. They assert, however, that it is because they are trying to avoid a reputation for a sort of servility and for base flattery. But though I

τούτους[1] μὲν ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγουσι σαφῶς 1
εἰδὼς ὅμως ἀφίημι, καὶ κείσθω διαφεύγειν αὐτούς, καθάπερ οἴονται, κολακείας οὐκ ἀληθῆ δόξαν, πολλοῖς ἅμα πάθεσιν ἐνόχους φανέντας καὶ νοσήμασιν αἰσχίστοις πάνυ καὶ ἀνελευθέροις. ἢ γὰρ οὐ συνιέντες ἀναίσθητοι λίαν εἰσίν, ὧν οὐδαμῶς ἀναίσθητον εἶναι χρῆν, ἢ συνιέντες ἐπιλήσμονες ὧν ἐχρῆν εἰς ἅπαντα μεμνῆσθαι τὸν χρόνον· μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ ἀποκνοῦντες δι' ἀσδηποτοῦν αἰτίας δειλοὶ καὶ βάσκανοι φύσει καὶ ἁπλῶς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις δυσμενεῖς, οἵ γε οὐδὲ B
τοῖς εὐεργέταις πρᾶοι καὶ προσηνεῖς ἐθέλοντες εἶναι, εἶτα, ἂν μὲν δέῃ λοιδορῆσαί που καὶ δακεῖν, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία ὀργίλον καὶ ὀξὺ βλέπουσιν· ὥσπερ δὲ ἀνάλωμα πολυτελὲς φεύγοντες τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἔπαινον, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, αἰτιῶνται τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων εὐφημίας, ἐξὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐξετάζειν μόνον, εἰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶσι καὶ περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦνται τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαί- C
νοις χαρίζεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀνωφελὲς χρῆμα ἡ εὐφημία οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν γέγονεν οὔτε αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὁπόσοι τὴν ἴσην ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὸν βίον τάξιν εἰληχότες τῆς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀπελείφθησαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄκουσμά τέ ἐστιν ἡδὺ καὶ προθυμοτέρους παρέχει περὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν ἔργων· τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ζηλοῦν ἐκεῖνα πειθοῖ καὶ βίᾳ παρώρμησεν ὁρῶντας ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν προλαβόντων

[1] τούτους Cobet, οὗτοι MSS., Hertlein.

know well enough that what they say is all insincere, nevertheless I let that pass, and suppose we assume that they, as they think, do escape an undeserved reputation for flattery, still they at the same time appear to be guilty of many weaknesses and defects of character that are in the highest degree base and illiberal. For either they are too dense to perceive what no one should fail to perceive, or they are not dense but forgetful of what they ought to remember for all time. Or again, they do remember, and yet shirk their duty for some reason or other, being cowards and grudging by nature, and their hand is against every man without exception, seeing that not even to their benefactors do they consent to be gentle and amiable; and then if there be any opening to slander and bite, they look angry and fierce like wild beasts. Genuine praise they somehow or other avoid giving, as though it were a costly extravagance, and they censure the applause given to noble actions, when the only thing that they need enquire into is whether the eulogists respect truth and rate her higher than the reputation of showing their gratitude by eulogy. For this at any rate they cannot assert, that praise is a useless thing, either to those who receive it or to others besides, who, though they have been assigned the same rank in life as the objects of their praise, have fallen short of their merit in what they have accomplished. To the former it is not only agreeable to hear, but makes them zealous to aim at a still higher level of conduct, while the latter it stimulates both by persuasion and compulsion to imitate that noble conduct, because they see that none of those

τινὲς ἀπεστερήθησαν ὃ μόνον δοῦναί τε καὶ λαβεῖν ἔστι δημοσίᾳ καλόν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ D ἐμφανὲς διδόναι καὶ περιβλέπειν, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι τὸ δοθὲν εἴσονται, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀπειροκάλου· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑποσχὼν[1] τὼ χεῖρε ὑποδέξαιτ' ἄν τις ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, μὴ παντάπασιν ἀποσεισάμενος αἰδῶ καὶ ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου. Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ καὶ διδοὺς τὸν λαβόντα ἐπειρᾶτο λαθεῖν· συνίει δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῆς πράξεως τὸν δράσαντα. ἐπαίνων δὲ ζηλωτὸν μὲν ἀκροατὰς ὡς πλείστους εὑρεῖν, ἀγαπητὸν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ ὀλίγους. καὶ ἐπῄνει δὲ Σωκράτης πολλοὺς καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης· Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀγησίλαον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην, οὔτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκεῖνον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ᾧ[2] συνεστράτευτο ἐπὶ βασιλέα[3] καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους ξυγγράφων οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο. ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμαστὸν B εἶναι δοκεῖ, εἰ τοὺς ἄνδρας μὲν τοὺς καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς[4] προθύμως ἐπαινεσόμεθα, γυναῖκα δὲ ἀγαθὴν τῆς εὐφημίας οὐκ ἀξιώσομεν, ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν μεῖον αὐταῖς ἤπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες. ἢ γὰρ εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ συνετὴν καὶ οἵαν νέμειν[5] ἑκάστῳ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ θαρραλέαν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ πάντα ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐκείνῃ[6] οἰόμενοι χρῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἶτα[7] τῶν

[1] ὑποσχὼν Cobet, ὑποσχεῖν MSS., Hertlein.
[2] τὸν ᾧ Cobet, Naber ᾧ MSS., Hertlein.
[3] ἐπὶ βασιλέα Cobet, [ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα] Hertlein.
[4] καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς Cobet, καλοὺς MSS., Hertlein.
[5] οἵαν νέμειν Hertlein suggests, νέμειν MSS.
[6] ἐκείνῃ Petavius, ἐκείνην MSS., Hertlein.
[7] εἶτα Cobet adds

who have anticipated them have been deprived of that which alone it is honourable to give and receive publicly. For to give money openly, and to look anxiously round that as many as possible may know of the gift, is characteristic of a vulgar person. Nay no one would even stretch out his hands to receive it in the sight of all men, unless he had first cast off all propriety of manner and sense of shame. Arcesilaus indeed, when offering a gift, used to try to hide his identity even from the recipient.[1] But in his case the manner of the deed always made known the doer. For a eulogy, however, one is ambitious to obtain as many hearers as possible, and even a small audience is, I think, not to be despised. Socrates, for instance, spoke in praise of many, as did Plato also and Aristotle. Xenophon, too, eulogised King Agesilaus and Cyrus the Persian, not only the elder Cyrus, but him whom he accompanied on his campaign against the Great King, nor did he hide away his eulogies, but put them into his history. Now I should think it strange indeed if we shall be eager to applaud men of high character, and not think fit to give our tribute of praise to a noble woman, believing as we do that excellence is the attribute of women no less than of men. Or shall we who think that such a one ought to be modest and wise and competent to assign to every man his due, and brave in danger, high-minded and generous, and that in a word all such qualities as these should be hers,—shall we, I say,

[1] Plutarch, *Moralia* 63 D.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγκωμίων ἀφαιρησόμεθα τὸν ἐκ C
τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν ψόγον δεδοικότες; Ὅμηρος
δὲ οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐπαινέσας οὐδὲ
τὴν Ἀλκίνου γαμετήν, οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη διαφερόν-
τως ἀγαθὴ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ἀρετῆς
μετεποιήθη. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἐκείνη τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
τούτῳ διήμαρτεν εὐφημίας. πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις
παθεῖν μὲν εὖ καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἀγαθοῦ, σμικροῦ
τε ὁμοίως καὶ μείζονος, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον παρὰ D
γυναικὸς ἢ παρὰ ἀνδρὸς δεξόμεθα, τὴν δὲ ἐπ'
αὐτῷ χάριν ἀποτίνειν ὀκνήσομεν; ἀλλὰ μή ποτε
καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δεῖσθαι καταγέλαστον εἶναι φῶσι καὶ
οὐκ ἄξιον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ γενναίου, εἶναι δὲ
καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τὸν σοφὸν ἀγεννῆ καὶ δειλόν,
ὅτι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἱκέτευε θυγατέρα παίζου-
σαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λειμῶνος ξὺν ταῖς ὁμήλιξι παρ-
θένοις παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ᾐόσι. μή ποτε οὖν
οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόσχωνται
παιδός, ἣν Ὅμηρός φησιν ἀπεικασθεῖσαν παρ-
θένῳ καλῇ καὶ γενναίᾳ Ὀδυσσεῖ μὲν ἡγήσασθαι
τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια φερούσης ὁδοῦ, σύμβουλον
δὲ αὐτῷ[1] καὶ διδάσκαλον γενομένην, ὧν ἐχρῆν
εἴσω παρελθόντα δρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, καθάπερ τινὰ
ῥήτορα ξὺν τέχνῃ[2] τέλειον ᾆσαι βασιλίδος ἐγκώ-
μιον, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἀρξαμένην. ἔχει δὲ
αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔπη τὸν τρόπον τόνδε·

Δέσποιναν μὲν πρῶτα κιχήσεαι ἐν μεγάροισιν·
Ἀρήτη δ' ὄνομ' ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμον, ἐκ δὲ τοκήων E
Τῶν αὐτῶν οἵπερ τέκον Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα.

[1] αὐτῷ Cobet, αὐτοῦ MSS., Hertlein.
[2] [τῇ] τέχνῃ Hertlein.

then rob her of the encomium due to her good deeds, from any fear of the charge of appearing to flatter? But Homer was not ashamed to praise Penelope and the consort of Alcinous [1] and other women of exceptional goodness, or even those whose claim to virtue was slight. Nay nor did Penelope fail to obtain her share of praise for this very thing. But besides these reasons for praise, shall we consent to accept kind treatment from a woman no less than from a man, and to obtain some boon whether small or great, and then hesitate to pay the thanks due therefor? But perhaps people will say that the very act of making a request to a woman is despicable and unworthy of an honourable and high-spirited man, and that even the wise Odysseus was spiritless and cowardly because he was a suppliant to the king's daughter [2] as she played with her maiden companions by the banks of the river. Perhaps they will not spare even Athene the daughter of Zeus, of whom Homer says [3] that she put on the likeness of a fair and noble maiden and guided him along the road that led to the palace, and was his adviser and instructed him what he must do and say when he had entered within; and that, like some orator perfect in the art of rhetoric, she sang an encomium of the queen, and for a prelude told the tale of her lineage from of old. Homer's verses about this are as follows:

"The queen thou shalt find first in the halls. Arete is the name she is called by, and of the same parents is she as those who begat king Alcinous." [4]

[1] Arete. [2] Nausicaa.
[3] *Odyssey* 7. 20. [4] *Odyssey* 7. 54.

ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οἶμαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασάν τε καὶ ἔπαθον εἰπών, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὴν ὁ θεῖος, τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολομένου νέου καὶ νυμφίου, ἔγημέ τε καὶ ἐτίμησεν,

ὡς οὔτις ἐπὶ χθονὶ τίεται ἄλλη.

καὶ ὅσων τυγχάνει C

Ἔκ τε φίλων παίδων ἔκ τ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλκινόοιο,

ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου, οἳ καθάπερ θεὸν ὁρῶσι πορευομένην διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος, τέλος ἐπέθηκε ταῖς εὐφημίαις ζηλωτὸν ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί,

Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι νόου γε καὶ αὐτὴ δεύεται ἐσθλοῦ

λέγων, καὶ ὡς κρίνειν εὖ ἠπίστατο, οἷσίν τ' εὖ φρονέῃσι, καὶ διαλύειν τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα τοῖς πολίταις ἀναφυόμενα ξὺν δίκῃ. ταύτην D δὴ οὖν ἱκετεύσας εἰ τύχοις εὔνου, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη,

Ἐλπωρή τοι ἔπειτα φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἱκέσθαι
Οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον·

ὁ δ' ἐπείσθη τῇ ξυμβουλῇ. ἆρ' οὖν ἔτι δεησόμεθα μειζόνων εἰκόνων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἐναργεστέρων, ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν ὑποψίαν; οὐχὶ δὲ ἤδη μιμούμενοι τὸν σοφὸν 10 ἐκεῖνον καὶ θεῖον ποιητὴν ἐπαινέσομεν Εὐσεβίαν τὴν ἀρίστην, ἐπιθυμοῦντες μὲν ἔπαινον αὐτῆς ἄξιον διεξελθεῖν, ἀγαπῶντες δέ, εἰ καὶ μετρίως τυγχάνοιμεν οὕτω καλῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐπιτηδευμά-

Then he goes back and begins with Poseidon and tells of the origin of that family and all that they did and suffered, and how when her father perished, still young and newly-wed, her uncle married her, and honoured her

"As no other woman in the world is honoured,"

and he tells of all the honour she receives

"From her dear children and from Alcinous himself,"

and from the council of elders also, I think, and from the people who look upon her as a goddess as she goes through the city; and on all his praises he sets this crown, one that man and woman alike may well envy, when he says

"For indeed she too has no lack of excellent understanding,"

and that she knows well how to judge between men, and, for those citizens to whom she is kindly disposed, how to reconcile with justice the grievances that arise among them. Now if, when you entreat her, the goddess says to him, you find her well disposed,

"Then is there hope that you will see your friends and come to your high-roofed house."

And he was persuaded by her counsel. Shall I then need yet greater instances and clearer proofs, so that I may escape the suspicion of seeming to flatter? Shall I not forthwith imitate that wise and inspired poet and go on to praise the noble Eusebia, eager as I am to compose an encomium worthy of her, though I shall be thankful if, even in a moderate degree, I succeed in describing accomplishments so many and

των; καὶ τῶν[1] ἀγαθῶν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνῃ, σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ πρᾳότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας ἢ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα φιλίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τοὺς B
οἰκείους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τιμῆς. προσήκει δὲ οἶμαι καθάπερ ἴχνεσιν ἑπόμενον τοῖς ἤδη ῥηθεῖσιν οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ξὺν εὐφημίᾳ τάξιν, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῃ, πατρίδος τε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ πατέρων μνημονεύοντα, καὶ ὅπως ἐγήματο καὶ ᾧτινι, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς πατρίδος πολλὰ σεμνὰ λέγειν ἔχων, τὰ μὲν διὰ παλαιότητα παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ· φαίνεται γὰρ εἶναι τῶν μύθων οὐ πόρρω· ὁποῖον C
δή τι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Μουσῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς εἶεν δήπουθεν ἐκ τῆς Πιερίας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀφίκοιντο παρὰ τὸν πατέρα κληθεῖσαι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰ δή τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, μύθῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ προσῆκον, ἀπολειπτέον· ὀλίγα δὲ εἰπεῖν τῶν οὐ πᾶσι γνωρίμων τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λόγου. Μακεδόνων γὰρ οἰκίσαι φασὶ τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνους, Τημένου παῖδας, οἳ τὴν Ἀργείαν λῆξιν νεμόμενοι καὶ στασιά- D
ζοντες τέλος ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ φιλοτιμίας· εἶτα ἑλόντες τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ γένος ὄλβιον ἀπολιπόντες[2] βασι-

[1] καὶ τῶν Petavius, οὐ τῶν MSS., Hertlein suggests οὕτως ἀγαθῶν ὑπαρχόντων, Reiske suggests ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἀπορῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτου ἅψωμαι πρώτου τῶν ἀγαθῶν. "I am at a loss which of her noble qualities to discuss first."

[2] ἀπολιπόντες MSS., ἀπολείποντες V, Hertlein.

so admirable? And I shall be thankful if I succeed in describing also those noble qualities of hers, her temperance, justice, mildness and goodness, or her affection for her husband, or her generosity about money, or the honour that she pays to her own people and her kinsfolk. It is proper for me, I think, to follow in the track as it were of what I have already said, and, as I pursue my panegyric, so arrange it as to give the same order as Athene, making mention, as is natural, of her native land, her ancestors, how she married and whom, and all the rest in the same fashion as Homer.

Now though I have much that is highly honourable to say about her native land,[1] I think it well to omit part, because of its antiquity. For it seems to be not far removed from myth. For instance, the sort of story that is told about the Muses, that they actually came from Pieria[2] and that it was not from Helicon that they came to Olympus, when summoned to their father's side. This then, and all else of the same sort, since it is better suited to a fable than to my narrative, must be omitted. But perhaps it is not out of the way nor alien from my present theme to tell some of the facts that are not familiar to all. They say[3] that Macedonia was colonised by the descendants of Heracles, the sons of Temenus, who had been awarded Argos as their portion, then quarrelled, and to make an end of their strife and jealousy led out a colony. Then they seized Macedonia, and leaving a

[1] Eusebia belonged to a noble family of Thessalonica, in Macedonia; she was married to Constantius in 352 A.D.

[2] Near Mount Olympus. [3] Herodotus 8. 137.

λεῖς ἐκ βασιλέων διετέλουν καθάπερ κλῆρον τὴν
τιμὴν διαδεχόμενοι. πάντας μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς
ἐπαινεῖν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὔτε οἶμαι ῥᾴδιον. πολλῶν
δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων καὶ καταλιπόντων
Ἑλληνικοῦ τρόπου μνημεῖα πάγκαλα, Φίλιππος
καὶ ὁ τούτου παῖς ἀρετῇ διηνεγκάτην πάντων, ὅσοι
πάλαι Μακεδονίας καὶ Θρᾴκης ἦρξαν, οἶμαι δὲ
ἔγωγε καὶ ὅσοι Λυδῶν ἢ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ
Ἀσσυρίων, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Καμβύσου παιδός, ὃς
ἐκ τῶν Μήδων ἐς Πέρσας τὴν βασιλείαν μετέ-
στησεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπειράθη τὴν Μακεδό-
νων αὐξῆσαι δύναμιν, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ
πλεῖστα καταστρεψάμενος ὅρον ἐποιήσατο πρὸς
ἕω μὲν καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τὴν θάλατταν, ἀπ'
ἄρκτων δὲ οἶμαι τὸν Ἴστρον καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τὸ B
Ὠρικὸν ἔθνος. ὁ τούτου δὲ αὖ παῖς ὑπὸ τῷ
Σταγειρίτῃ σοφῷ τρεφόμενος τοσοῦτον μεγαλοψυ-
χίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων διήνεγκε καὶ προσέτι τὸν
αὐτοῦ πατέρα τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ τῇ θαρραλεότητι
καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, ὥστ'[1]
οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῷ ζῆν ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ μὴ ξυμπάν-
των μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πάντων δὲ ἐθνῶν κρατήσειεν.
οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν ἐπῆλθε σύμπασαν κατα- C
στρεφόμενος, καὶ ἀνίσχοντα πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων
τὸν ἥλιον προσεκύνει, ὡρμημένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν
Εὐρώπην, ὅπως τὰ λειπόμενα περιβαλόμενος γῆς
τε ἁπάσης καὶ θαλάττης κύριος γένοιτο, τὸ χρεὼν
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατέλαβε. Μακεδόνες δὲ ἁπάντων
ἦρχον, ὧν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ κτησάμενοι πόλεων καὶ
ἐθνῶν ἔτυχον. ἆρ' οὖν ἔτι χρὴ διὰ μειζόνων

[1] ὥστ' Hertlein suggests.

prosperous family behind them, they succeeded to the throne, king after king, as though the privilege were an inheritance. Now to praise all these would be neither truthful, nor in my opinion easy. But though many of them were brave men and left behind them very glorious monuments of the Hellenic character, Philip and his son surpassed in valour all who of old ruled over Macedonia and Thrace, yes and I should say all who governed the Lydians as well, or the Medes and Persians and Assyrians, except only the son of Cambyses,[1] who transferred the sovereignty from the Medes to the Persians. For Philip was the first to try to increase the power of the Macedonians, and when he had subdued the greater part of Europe, he made the sea his frontier limit on the east and south, and on the north I think the Danube, and on the west the people of Oricus.[2] And after him, his son, who was bred up at the feet of the wise Stagyrite,[3] so far excelled all the rest in greatness of soul, and besides, surpassed his own father in generalship and courage and the other virtues, that he thought that life for him was not worth living unless he could subdue all men and all nations. And so he traversed the whole of Asia, conquering as he went, and he was the first of men[4] to adore the rising sun; but as he was setting out for Europe in order to gain control of the remainder and so become master of the whole earth and sea, he paid the debt of nature in Babylon. Then Macedonians became the rulers of all the cities and nations that they had acquired under his leadership. And now is it still

[1] Cyrus. [2] A town on the coast of Illyria.
[3] Aristotle; "who bred | Great Alexander to subdue the world." Milton, *Paradise Regained* 4. [4] *i.e.* of Greeks.

τεκμηρίων δηλοῦν, ὡς ἔνδοξος μὲν ἡ Μακεδονία D
καὶ μεγάλη τὸ πρόσθεν γένοιτο; ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς
τὸ κράτιστον ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη, ἣν ἀνέστησαν,
πεσόντων, οἶμαι, Θετταλῶν, τῆς κατ' ἐκείνων
ἐπώνυμον νίκης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔτι
δέομαι μακρότερα λέγειν.

Εὐγενείας γε μὴν τί ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἔτι πράγματα
ἐπιζητοῦντες φανερώτερον καὶ ἐναργὲς μᾶλλον
τεκμήριον; θυγάτηρ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου νομισ-
θέντος τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν,[1]
πάλαι μὲν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀτεχνῶς ὀνομα- 10
ζομένην, μεταβαλοῦσαν δὲ διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
χρωμένους τῇ δυνάμει τὸ ὄνομα· νῦν δὲ ἤδη τῆς
δυνάμεως ἐπιλειπούσης, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς μοναρχίαν
τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μεθέστηκε, τιμὴ καθ' αὑτὴν τῶν
ἄλλων ἁπάντων στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν
ἀντίρροπος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οἷον
ἆθλον ἀποκειμένη καὶ γέρας ἀρετῆς ἢ πίστεως
ἤ τινος εὐνοίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας περὶ τοὺς τῶν
ὅλων ἄρχοντας ἢ πράξεως λαμπρᾶς, τοῖς βασι- B
λεῦσι δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς οἷον ἄγαλμα
καὶ κόσμος ἐπιτιθεμένη· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων
ὀνομάτων τε καὶ ἔργων, ὁπόσα τῆς παλαιᾶς
ἐκείνης πολιτείας διασώζει τινὰ φαύλην καὶ
ἀμυδρὰν εἰκόνα, ἢ παντάπασιν ὑπεριδόντες διὰ
τὴν ἰσχὺν κατέγνωσαν, ἢ προσιέμενοί γε διὰ
βίου καρποῦνται τὰς ἐπωνυμίας· μόνης δέ, οἶμαι,
ταύτης οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπερεῖδον, χαίρουσί
τε[2] καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν τυγχάνοντες· καὶ οὔτε C

[1] ἄρχειν Hertlein adds.
[2] οὔτε—τε Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—δὲ MSS.

necessary to show by stronger proofs that Macedonia was famous and great of old? And the most important place in Macedonia is that city which they restored, after, I think, the fall of the Thessalians, and which is called after their victory over them.[1] But concerning all this I need not speak at greater length.

And of her noble birth why should I take any further trouble to seek for clearer or more manifest proof than this? I mean that she is the daughter of a man who was considered worthy to hold the office that gives its name to the year,[2] an office that in the past was powerful and actually called royal, but lost that title because of those who abused their power. But now that in these days its power has waned, since the government has changed to a monarchy, the bare honour, though robbed of all the rest, is held to counterbalance all power, and for private citizens is set up as a sort of prize and a reward of virtue, or loyalty, or of some favour done to the ruler of the empire, or for some brilliant exploit, while for the emperors, it is added to the advantages they already possess as the crowning glory and adornment. For all the other titles and functions that still retain some feeble and shadowy resemblance to the ancient constitution they either altogether despised and rejected, because of their absolute power, or they attached them to themselves and enjoy the titles for life. But this office alone, I think, they from the first did not despise, and it still gratifies them when they obtain it for the year. Indeed there is no private citizen or emperor, nor has ever

[1] Thessalonica. [2] The consulship.

ἰδιώτης οὐδεὶς οὔτε βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἢ γέγονεν, ὃς
οὐ ζηλωτὸν ἐνόμισεν ὕπατος ἐπονομασθῆναι. εἰ
δέ, ὅτι πρῶτος ἔτυχεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ γέγονεν ἀρχηγὸς
τῷ γένει τῆς εὐδοξίας, ἔλαττόν τις ἔχειν αὐτὸν
τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολαμβάνει, λίαν ἐξαπατώμενος
οὐ μανθάνει· τῷ παντὶ γὰρ οἶμαι κρεῖττόν ἐστι
καὶ σεμνότερον ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις
περιφανείας τοσαύτης ἢ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν προ- D
γόνων. ἐπεὶ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης οἰκιστὴν
γενέσθαι κρεῖττον ἢ πολίτην, καὶ λαβεῖν ὁτιοῦν
ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δοῦναι τῷ παντὶ καταδεέστερον.
λαμβάνειν δὲ ἐοίκασι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων οἱ
παῖδες καὶ οἱ πολῖται παρὰ τῶν πόλεων οἷον
ἀφορμάς τινας πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. ὅστις δὲ ἀπο-
δίδωσι πάλιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προγόνοις τε καὶ πατρίδι
μείζονα τιμῆς ὑπόθεσιν, λαμπροτέραν μὲν ἐκείνην
καὶ σεμνοτέραν, τοὺς πατέρας δὲ ἐνδοξοτέρους
ἀποφαίνων, οὗτος οὐδενὶ δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν[1] πρὸς
εὐγενείας λόγον ἅμιλλαν· οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅστις 10
ἐκείνου φήσει κρείττων γεγονέναι· ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν φῦναι χρή. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐνδόξων
ἐνδοξότερος γενόμενος, ἐς ταὐτὸν ἀρετῇ τῆς τύχης
πνεούσης, οὗτος οὐδενὶ δίδωσιν ἀπορεῖν, εἰ τῆς
εὐγενείας εἰκότως μεταποιεῖται.

Εὐσεβία δέ, περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος, παῖς μὲν ὑπάτου
γέγονε, γαμετὴ δέ ἐστι βασιλέως ἀνδρείου,
σώφρονος, συνετοῦ, δικαίου, χρηστοῦ καὶ πράου
καὶ μεγαλοψύχου, ὃς ἐπειδὴ πατρῴαν οὖσαν αὐτῷ B

[1] δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν Hertlein suggests, καταλιπεῖν V, M, καταλείπει MSS.

been, who did not think it an enviable distinction to be entitled consul. And if there be anyone who thinks that, because he I spoke of was the first of his line to win that title and to lay the foundations of distinction for his family, he is therefore inferior to the others, he fails to understand that he is deceived exceedingly. For it is, in my opinion, altogether nobler and more honourable to lay the foundations of such great distinction for one's descendants than to receive it from one's ancestors. For indeed it is a nobler thing to be the founder of a mighty city than a mere citizen and to receive any good thing is altogether less dignified than to give. Indeed it is evident that sons receive from their fathers, and citizens from their cities, a start, as it were, on the path of glory. But he who by his own effort pays back to his ancestors and his native land that honour on a higher scale, and makes his country show more brilliant and more distinguished, and his ancestors more illustrious, clearly yields the prize to no man on the score of native nobility. Nor is there any man who can claim to be superior to him I speak of. For the good must needs be born of good parents. But when the son of illustrious parents himself becomes more illustrious, and fortune blows the same way as his merit, he causes no one to feel doubt, if he lays claim, as is reasonable, to be of native nobility.

Now Eusebia, the subject of my speech, was the daughter of a consul, and is the consort of an Emperor who is brave, temperate, wise, just, virtuous, mild and high-souled, who, when he acquired the

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκτήσατο, ἀφελόμενος τοῦ βίᾳ λαβόντος, γάμου τε ἐδεῖτο πρὸς παίδων γένεσιν, οἳ κληρονομήσουσι τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ταύτην ἀξίαν ἔκρινε τῆς κοινωνίας γεγονὼς ἤδη σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης κύριος. καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις μείζονα μαρτυρίαν ἐπιζητήσειε τῆσδε; οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ δὲ C
ἁπάντων ἁπλῶς, ὅσα χρῆν οἶμαι τὴν βασιλεῖ τοσούτῳ συνιοῦσαν, καθάπερ φερνὴν οἴκοθεν ἐπιφερομένην, κομίζειν ἀγαθά, παιδείαν ὀρθήν, σύνεσιν ἐμμελῆ, ἀκμὴν καὶ ὥραν σώματος καὶ κάλλος τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰς ἄλλας παρθένους, καθαπερ οἶμαι περὶ τῇ σελήνῃ πληθούσῃ οἱ διαφανεῖς ἀστέρες καταυγαζόμενοι κρύπτουσι τὴν μορφήν. ἓν μὲν γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲν[1] ἐξαρκεῖν δοκεῖ πρὸς κοινωνίαν βασιλέως, πάντα δὲ ἅμα, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τινος ἀγαθῷ βασιλεῖ D
καλὴν καὶ σώφρονα πλάττοντος τὴν νύμφην, εἰς ταὐτὸ συνεληλυθότα πόρρωθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐφελκυσάμενα μάλα ὄλβιον ἦγε τὸν νυμφίον. κάλλος μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γένους βοηθείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν οἶμαι στερόμενον οὐδὲ ἰδιώτην ἀκόλαστον ἰσχύει πείθειν τὴν γαμήλιον ἀνάψαι λαμπάδα, ἄμφω δὲ ἅμα συνελθόντα γάμον μὲν ἥρμοσε πολλάκις, ἀπολειπόμενα δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν τρόπων ἁρμονίας καὶ χάριτος οὐ 11
λίαν ἐφάνη ζηλωτά.

Ταῦτα ἐπιστάμενον σαφῶς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σώφρονα φαίην ἂν εἰκότως πολλάκις βουλευσάμενον ἑλέσθαι τὸν γάμον, τὰ μὲν οἶμαι πυνθα-

[1] οὐδὲν MSS., οὐδὲ ἓν V, Hertlein.

throne that had belonged to his ancestors, and had won it back from him who had usurped it by violence, and desired to wed that he might beget sons to inherit his honour and power, deemed this lady worthy of his alliance, when he had already become master of almost the whole world. And indeed why should one search for stronger evidence than this? Evidence, I mean, not only of her native nobility, but of all those combined gifts which she who is united to so great an Emperor ought to bring with her from her home as a dowry, wit and wisdom, a body in the flower of youth, and beauty so conspicuous as to throw into the shade all other maidens beside, even as, I believe, the radiant stars about the moon at the full are outshone and hide their shape.[1] For no single one of these endowments is thought to suffice for an alliance with an Emperor, but all together, as though some god were fashioning for a virtuous Emperor a fair and modest bride, were united in her single person and, attracting not his eyes alone, brought from afar that bridegroom blest of heaven. For beauty alone, if it lacks the support of birth and the other advantages I have mentioned, is not enough to induce even a licentious man, a mere citizen, to kindle the marriage torch, though both combined have brought about many a match, but when they occur without sweetness and charm of character they are seen to be far from desirable.

I have good reason to say that the Emperor in his prudence understood this clearly, and that it was only after long deliberation that he chose this

[1] Ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν ἂψ ἀποκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἶδος. Sappho *fr.* 3.

νόμενον, ὅσα χρῆν δι' ἀκοῆς περὶ αὐτῆς μαθεῖν, τεκμαιρόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν· ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγοντας διατρίβειν, καθάπερ οὐκ ἔχοντας ἴδιον ἐγκώμιον τῆς,[1] ὑπὲρ ἧς ὁ λόγος, διελθεῖν; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσως οὔτε B
εἰπεῖν οὔτε ἐπακοῦσαι πολὺ καὶ ἐργῶδες, ὅτι δὴ γένος μὲν αὐτῇ σφόδρα Ἑλληνικόν, Ἑλλήνων τῶν πάνυ, καὶ πόλις ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Μακεδονίας, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπέρ τε Εὐάδνην τὴν Καπανέως καὶ τὴν Θετταλὴν ἐκείνην Λαοδάμειαν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ ἔτι νυμφίους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι δαιμόνων βίᾳ βασκάνων ἢ μοιρῶν νήμασι τοῦ ζῆν ὑπερεῖδον διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, ἡ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χρεὼν τὸν κουρίδιον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα C
κατέλαβε, τοῖς παισὶ προσκαθημένη τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ κλέος αὐτῇ εἰργάσατο, ὥστε τῇ μὲν Πηνελόπῃ περιόντος ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένου τοῦ γήμαντος, προσῄει τὰ μειράκια μνηστευσόμενα ἔκ τε Ἰθάκης καὶ Σάμου καὶ Δουλιχίου, τῇ δὲ ἀνὴρ μὲν οὐδεὶς καλὸς καὶ μέγας ἢ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ πλούσιος ὑπὲρ[2] τούτων εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ὑπέμεινέ ποτε· τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ βασιλεὺς ἑαυτῷ συνοικεῖν ἀξίαν ἔκρινε, καὶ ἔδρασε τὸν γάμον λαμπρῶς μετὰ τὰ D
τρόπαια, ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δήμους[3] ἑστιῶν.

Εἰ δέ τις ἄρα ἐκείνων ἐπακούειν ποθεῖ, ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐκαλεῖτο μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἡ νύμφη,

[1] τῆς Cobet adds.
[2] Before ὑπὲρ Horkel and Hertlein omit ὃς.
[3] δήμους Naber, μούσας MSS., Hertlein.

marriage, partly making enquiries about all that was needful to learn about her by hearsay, but judging also from her mother of the daughter's noble disposition. Of that mother why should I take time to say more, as though I had not to recite a special encomium on her who is the theme of my speech? But so much perhaps I may say briefly and you may hear without weariness, that her family is entirely Greek, yes Greek of the purest stock, and her native city was the metropolis of Macedonia, and she was more self-controlled than Evadne[1] the wife of Capaneus, and the famous Laodameia[2] of Thessaly. For these two, when they had lost their husbands, who were young, handsome and still newly-wed, whether by the constraint of some envious powers, or because the threads of the fates were so woven, threw away their lives for love. But the mother of the Empress, when his fate had come upon her wedded lord, devoted herself to her children, and won a great reputation for prudence, so great indeed, that whereas Penelope, while her husband was still on his travels and wanderings, was beset by those young suitors who came to woo her from Ithaca and Samos and Dulichium, that lady no man however fair and tall or powerful and wealthy ever ventured to approach with any such proposals. And her daughter the Emperor deemed worthy to live by his side, and after setting up the trophies of his victories, he celebrated the marriage with great splendour, feasting nations and cities and peoples.

But should any haply desire to hear of such things as how the bride was bidden to come from Macedonia

[1] Euripides, *Suppliants* 494.
[2] The wife of Protesilaus.

τίς δὲ ἦν ὁ τῆς πομπῆς τρόπος, ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὀχημάτων παντοδαπῶν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ὀρειχάλκῳ μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης τέχνης εἰργασμένων, ἴστω παιδικῶν σφόδρα ἀκουσμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν· καθάπερ γὰρ οἶμαι κιθαρῳδοῦ τινος 11
δεξιοῦ τὴν τέχνην· ἔστω δέ, εἰ βούλει, Τέρπανδρος οὗτος ἢ ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν δὴ λόγος ἔχει δαιμονίᾳ πομπῇ χρησάμενον φιλομουσοτέρου τοῦ δελφῖνος τυχεῖν ἢ τῶν ξυμπλεόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄκραν κομισθῆναι· ἔθελγε γάρ, οἶμαι, τοὺς δυστυχεῖς ναύτας ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης εἰργάσατο, αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκείνης ὑπερεώρων καὶ οὐδεμίαν ὥραν ἐποιοῦντο τῆς μουσικῆς· εἰ δὴ οὖν B
τις τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἐκείνοιν τὸν κράτιστον ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὸν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμον τῇ τέχνῃ πρέποντα εἶτα ἐς θέατρον παραγάγοι παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων φύσει τε καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι διαφερόντων, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν[1] ὁπόσοι τοιοῦτοι εἰς τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἀποβλέποντας ἐκπεπλῆχθαι δεινῶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, τῶν ἀνδρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀμαθεστέρους καὶ γυναικῶν πλὴν σφόδρα ὀλίγων ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ κρίνειν C
τὰ κρούματα, μουσικὸν δὲ ἄνδρα, τοὺς νόμους[2] ἐξεπιστάμενον τῆς τέχνης, οὔτε μιγνύμενα τὰ μέλη τῆς ἡδονῆς χάριν φαύλως ἀνέχεσθαι, δυσχεραίνειν τε[3] καὶ εἰ[4] τοὺς τρόπους τῆς μουσικῆς διαφθείροι

[1] τῶν before γυναικῶν Hertlein omits.
[2] νόμους Hertlein suggests, λόγους MSS.
[3] τε Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS. [4] εἰ [τις] Hertlein.

with her mother, and what was the manner of the cavalcade, of the chariots and horses and carriages of all sorts, decorated with gold and silver and copper of the finest workmanship, let me tell him that it is extremely childish of him to wish to hear such things. It is like the case of some player on the cithara who is an accomplished artist—let us say if you please Terpander or he of Methymna[1] of whom the story goes that he enjoyed a divine escort and found that the dolphin cared more for music than did his fellow-voyagers, and was thus conveyed safely to the Laconian promontory.[2] For though he did indeed charm those miserable sailors by his skilful performance, yet they despised his art and paid no heed to his music. Now, as I was going to say, if some one were to choose the best of those two musicians, and were to clothe him in the raiment suited to his art, and were then to bring him into a theatre full of men, women and children of all sorts, varying in temperament and age and habits besides, do you not suppose that the children and those of the men and women who had childish tastes would gaze at his dress and his lyre, and be marvellously smitten with his appearance, while the more ignorant of the men, and the whole crowd of women, except a very few, would judge his playing simply by the criterion of pleasure or the reverse; whereas a musical man who understood the rules of the art would not endure that the melodies should be wrongly mixed for the sake of giving pleasure, but would resent it if the player did not preserve

[1] Arion. [2] Taenarum.

καὶ εἰ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις μὴ δεόντως χρῷτο μηδὲ ἑπομένως τοῖς νόμοις τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ θείας μουσικῆς; ὁρῶν δὲ ἐμμένοντα τοῖς νομισθεῖσι καὶ οὐ κίβδηλον ἡδονήν, καθαρὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκήρατον D
τοῖς θεαταῖς ἐνεργασάμενον ἄπεισι τοῦτον ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος, ὅτι δὴ σὺν τέχνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν τὰς Μούσας τῷ θεάτρῳ ξυγγέγονε. τὸν δὲ τὴν ἁλουργίδα καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἐπαινοῦντα ληρεῖν οἴεται καὶ ἀνοηταίνειν· καὶ εἰ διὰ πλειόνων[1] τὰ τοιαῦτα διηγεῖται, λέξει τε ἡδίστῃ κοσμῶν καὶ ἐπιλεαίνων τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἀγεννὲς τῶν διηγημάτων, γελοιότερον νομίζει τῶν ἀποτορνεύειν τὰς 1
κέγχρους ἐπιχειρούντων, καθάπερ οἶμαι φασὶ τὸν Μυρμηκίδην ἀντιταττόμενον τῇ Φειδίου τέχνῃ. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἑκόντες αὑτοὺς ταύταις ὑποθήσομεν ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ δώρων παντοίων ὅρμων τε καὶ στεφάνων κατάλογον τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως μακρόν τινα τοῦτον ᾄδοντες, οὐδὲ ὡς ἀπήντων οἱ δῆμοι δεξιούμενοι καὶ χαίροντες, οὐδὲ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην λαμπρὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰ γέγονε καὶ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ B
τῶν βασιλείων εἴσω παρῆλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἠξιώθη, τί πρῶτον ἔργον ἐκείνης γέγονε, καὶ αὖθις δεύτερον, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τρίτον, καὶ πολλὰ δὴ μάλα τὸ ἐντεῦθεν; οὐ γάρ, εἰ σφόδρα λέγειν ἐθέλοιμι καὶ μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων βίβλους ξυντιθέναι, ἀρκέσειν ὑπολαμβάνω τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἔργων, ὅσα ἐκείνη φρόνησιν καὶ πρᾳότητα καὶ

[1] διὰ πλειόνων Hertlein suggests, μετὰ πλείονος MSS.

the modes of the music and did not use the harmonies properly, and conformably to the laws of genuine and inspired music? But if he saw that he was faithful to the principles of his art and produced in the audience a pleasure that was not spurious but pure and uncontaminated, he would go home praising the musician, and filled with admiration because his performance in the theatre was artistic and did the Muses no wrong. But such a man thinks that anyone who praises the purple raiment and the lyre is foolish and out of his mind, while, if he goes on to give full details about such outward things, adorning them with an agreeable style and smoothing away all that is worthless and vulgar in the tale, then the critic thinks him more ridiculous than those who try to carve cherry-stones,[1] as I believe is related of Myrmecides[2] who thus sought to rival the art of Pheidias. And so neither will I, if I can help it, lay myself open to this charge by reciting the long list of costly robes and gifts of all kinds and necklaces and garlands that were sent by the Emperor, nor how the folk in each place came to meet her with welcome and rejoicing, nor all the glorious and auspicious incidents that occurred on that journey, and were reported. But when she entered the palace and was honoured with her imperial title, what was the first thing she did and then the second and the third and the many actions that followed? For however much I might wish to tell of them and to compose lengthy volumes about them, I think that, for the majority, those of her deeds will be sufficient that more conspicuously

[1] Literally seeds or small beads.
[2] Famed for his minute carving of ivory.

σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιείκειάν τε καὶ ἐλευθεριότητα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐξεμαρτύρησε C
λαμπρότερον, ἣ νῦν ὁ παρὼν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος δηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς πάλαι διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐγνωκότας. οὐ μὴν ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνο δυσχερές, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον ἐφάνη, παντελῶς ἄξιον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἀποσιωπῆσαι, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ εἰς δύναμιν φράζειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς μὲν φρονήσεως ποιεῖσθαι σημεῖον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς πάσης, ὅτι τὸν γήμαντα διέθηκεν οὕτω περὶ αὐτήν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἄξιον γυναῖκα καλὴν καὶ γενναίαν.

Ὥστε ἔγωγε τῆς Πηνελόπης πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νομίσας ἐπαίνων ἄξια τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα D
θαυμάζω, ὅτι δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα λίαν ἔπειθε στέργειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὴν ὑπερορῶντα μέν, ὥς φασί, δαιμονίων γάμων, ἀτιμάζοντα δὲ οὐ μεῖον τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων ξυγγένειαν. Καίτοι γε εἶχον αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι ἐρωτικῶς, Καλυψὼ καὶ Κίρκη καὶ Ναυσικάα· καὶ ἦν αὐταῖς τὰ βασίλεια πάγκαλα, κήπων τινῶν καὶ παραδείσων ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυτευ- 1
μένων μάλα ἀμφιλαφέσι καὶ κατασκίοις τοῖς δένδρεσι, λειμῶνές τε ἄνθεσι ποικίλοις καὶ μαλακῇ τῇ πόᾳ βρύοντες·

Κρῆναι δ' ἑξείης πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῷ·

καὶ ἐτεθήλει περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμερὶς ἡβώωσα[1] σταφυλῆς οἶμαι τῆς γενναίας, βριθομένη τοῖς βότρυσι· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξιν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, πλὴν ὅσῳ πολυτελέστερα, ἅτε οἶμαι ποιητὰ ξὺν B
τέχνῃ, τῆς τῶν αὐτοφυῶν ἔλαττον μετεῖχε χάριτος καὶ ἧττον εἶναι ἐδόκει ἐκείνων ἐράσμια. τῆς

[1] ἡβώωσα Cobet, ἡβῶσα MSS., Hertlein.

witnessed to her wisdom and clemency and modesty and benevolence and goodness and generosity and her other virtues, than does now the present account of her, which tries to enlighten and instruct those who have long known it all from personal experience. For it would not be at all proper, merely because the task has proved to be difficult or rather impossible, to keep silence about the whole, but one should rather try, as far as one can, to tell about those deeds, and to bring forward as a proof of her wisdom and of all her other virtues the fact that she made her husband regard her as it is fitting that he should regard a beautiful and noble wife.

Therefore, though I think that many of the other qualities of Penelope are worthy of praise, this I admire beyond all, that she so entirely persuaded her husband to love and cherish her, that he despised, we are told, unions with goddesses, and equally rejected an alliance with the Phaeacians. And yet they were all in love with him, Calypso, Circe, Nausicaa. And they had very beautiful palaces and gardens and parks withal, planted with wide-spreading and shady trees, and meadows gay with flowers, in which soft grass grew deep: "And four fountains in a row flowed with shining water."[1] And a lusty wild vine bloomed about her dwelling,[2] with bunches of excellent grapes, laden with clusters. And at the Phaeacian court there were the same things, except that they were more costly, seeing that, as I suppose, they were made by art, and hence had less charm and seemed less lovely than those that were of natural growth. Now to all

[1] *Odyssey* 5. 70. [2] The cave of Calypso.

τρυφῆς δὲ αὖ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ προσέτι τῆς περὶ τὰς νήσους ἐκείνας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας τίνα οὐκ ἂν ἡττηθῆναι δοκεῖτε[1] τοσούτους ἀνατλάντα πόνους καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἔτι ὑφορώμενον δεινότερα[2] πείσεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῆς, πρὸς ἑκατὸν νεανίσκους ἡβῶντας εὖ μάλα C
μόνον ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλοντα, ὅπερ οὐδὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐκείνῳ ποτὲ συνηνέχθη; εἴ τις οὖν ἔροιτο τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παίζων ὡδέ πως· τί ποτε, ὦ σοφώτατε ῥῆτορ ἢ στρατηγὲ ἢ ὅ τι χρή σε ὀνομάζειν, τοσούτους ἑκὼν ὑπέμεινας πόνους, ἐξὸν εἶναι ὄλβιον καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατον εἴ τι χρὴ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις Καλυψοῦς πιστεύειν, σὺ δὲ ἑλόμενος τὰ χείρω πρὸ τῶν βελτιόνων τοσούτους σαυτῷ προστέθεικας πόνους, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Σχερίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἐθελήσας, ἐξὸν ἐκεῖ που παυσάμενον D
τῆς πλάνης καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπηλλάχθαι· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔγνως στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἄθλους δή τινας καὶ ἀποδημίαν ἑτέραν ἐκτελεῖν οὔτι τῆς πρόσθεν, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκὸς ἀπονωτέραν οὐδὲ κουφοτέραν. τί δὴ οὖν οἴεσθε πρὸς ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν ἔχειν; ἆρ' οὐχ ὅτι τῇ Πηνελόπῃ συνεῖναι ἐθέλων τοὺς ἄθλους αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς στρατείας χαρίεντα διηγήματα φέρειν ὑπέλαβε; ταῦτά τοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πεποίηκεν αὐτῷ παραινοῦσαν μεμνῆσθαι πάντων, ὧν τε εἶδε 11
θεαμάτων καὶ ὧν ἤκουσεν ἀκουσμάτων,

ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τεῇ εἴπησθα γυναικί,

[1] δοκεῖτε Hertlein suggests, εἰκὸς Reiske δοκεῖ MSS.
[2] δεινότερα Hertlein suggests, δεινότατα MSS.

that luxury and wealth, and moreover to the peace and quiet that surrounded those islands, who do you think would not have succumbed, especially one who had endured so great toils and dangers and expected that he would have to suffer still more terrible hardships, partly by sea and partly in his own house, since he had to fight all alone against a hundred youths in their prime, a thing which had never happened to him even in the land of Troy? Now if someone in jest were to question Odysseus somewhat in this fashion: "Why, O most wise orator or general, or whatever one must call you, did you endure so many toils, when you might have been prosperous and happy and perhaps even immortal, if one may at all believe the promises of Calypso? But you chose the worse instead of the better, and imposed on yourself all those hardships [1] and refused to remain even in Scheria, though you might surely have rested there from your wandering and been delivered from your perils; but behold you resolved to carry on the war in your own house and to perform feats of valour and to accomplish a second journey, not less toilsome, as seemed likely, nor easier than the first!" What answer then do you think he would give to this? Would he not answer that he longed always to be with Penelope, and that those contests and campaigns he purposed to take back to her as a pleasant tale to tell? For this reason, then, he makes his mother exhort him to remember everything, all the sights he saw and all the things he heard, and then she says: "So that in the days to come thou mayst tell it to thy wife." [2]

[1] cf. *Misopogon* 342A. In both passages Julian evidently echoes some line, not now extant, from Menander, *Duskolos*.
[2] *Odyssey* 11. 223.

φησίν. ὁ δὲ οὐδενὸς ἐπιλαθόμενος, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἀφίκετο καὶ τῶν μειρακίων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια κωμαζόντων ἐκράτει ξὺν δίκῃ, πάντα ἀθρόως αὐτῇ διηγεῖτο, ὅσα τε ἔδρασε καὶ ὅσα ἀνέτλη, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο ὑπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν ἀναπειθόμενος ἐκτελεῖν διενοεῖτο· ἀπόρρητον δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐδὲ ἕν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠξίου κοινωνὸν γίγνεσθαι τῶν B
βουλευμάτων καὶ ὅ,τι πρακτέον εἴη συννοεῖν καὶ συνεξευρίσκειν. ἆρα τοῦτο ὑμῖν τῆς Πηνελόπης ὀλίγον ἐγκώμιον δοκεῖ, ἢ ἤδη[1] τις ἄλλη τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν ὑπερβαλλομένη γαμετή τε οὖσα βασιλέως ἀνδρείου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου καὶ σώφρονος τοσαύτην εὔνοιαν ἐνεποίησεν αὐτῆς τῷ γήμαντι, συγκερασαμένη τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἐρώ- C
των ἐπιπνεομένῃ φιλίᾳ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς καθάπερ ῥεῦμα θεῖον ἐπιφερομένην ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς καὶ γενναίαις ψυχαῖς; δύο γὰρ δὴ τώδε τινὲ πίθω[2] φιλίας ἔστον, ὧν ἥδε κατ᾽ ἴσον ἀρυσαμένη βουλευμάτων τε αὐτῷ γέγονε κοινωνὸς καὶ πρᾷον ὄντα φύσει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἃ πέφυκε παρακαλεῖ μᾶλλον πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς συγγνώμην τὴν δίκην τρέπει. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, ὅτῳ γέγονεν ἡ βασιλὶς ἥδε ἐν δίκῃ τυχὸν ἢ καὶ παρὰ δίκην αἰτία τιμωρίας καὶ κολάσεως μικρᾶς ἢ μείζονος. Ἀθήνησι μὲν οὖν φασιν, D
ὅτε τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἔζων τοῖς οἰκείοις πειθόμενοι νόμοις μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, εἴ ποτε τῶν δικαζόντων

[1] ἤδη Horkel, εἰ δή MSS.

[2] πίθω Bruno Friederich, πειθώ τε καὶ ἰδέα MSS., Hertlein, τέ καὶ ἰδέα Cobet omits.

And indeed he forgot nothing, and no sooner had he come home and vanquished, as was just, the youths who caroused in the palace, than he related all to her without pause, all that he had achieved and endured, and all else that, obeying the oracles, he purposed still to accomplish.[1] And from her he kept nothing secret, but chose that she should be the partner of his counsels and should help him to plan and contrive what he must do. And do you think this a trifling tribute to Penelope, or is there not now found to be yet another woman whose virtue surpasses hers, and who, as the consort of a brave, magnanimous and prudent Emperor, has won as great affection from her husband, since she has mingled with the tenderness that is inspired by love that other which good and noble souls derive from their own virtue, whence it flows like a sacred fount? For there are two jars,[2] so to speak, of these two kinds of human affection, and Eusebia drew in equal measure from both, and so has come to be the partner of her husband's counsels, and though the Emperor is by nature merciful, good and wise, she encourages him to follow yet more becomingly his natural bent, and ever turns justice to mercy. So that no one could ever cite a case in which this Empress, whether with justice, as might happen, or unjustly, has ever been the cause of punishment or chastisement either great or small. Now we are told that at Athens, in the days when they employed their ancestral customs and lived in obedience to their own laws, as the inhabitants of a great and humane city, whenever the

[1] *Odyssey* 23. 284. [2] cf. *Iliad* 24. 527; *Oration* 7. 236 c.

αἱ ψῆφοι κατ' ἴσον γένοιντο τοῖς φεύγουσι πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένην τῷ τὴν δίκην ὀφλήσειν μέλλοντι ἀπολύειν ἄμφω τῆς αἰτίας, τὸν μὲν ἐπάγοντα τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ 11
δοκεῖν εἶναι συκοφάντην, τὸν δέ, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦ δοκεῖν ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ πονηρεύματι. τοῦτον δὴ φιλάνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ χαρίεντα τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τῶν δικῶν, ἃς βασιλεὺς κρίνει, σωζόμενον πρᾳότερον αὕτη καθίστησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ φεύγων παρ' ὀλίγον ἔλθῃ τὴν ἴσην ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις λαχεῖν, πείθει, τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δέησιν προσθεῖσα καὶ ἱκετηρίαν, ἀφεῖναι πάντως τῆς αἰτίας. ὁ δὲ ἑκὼν ἑκόντι τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐ, καθά- B
περ Ὅμηρός φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον παρὰ τῆς γαμετῆς ὁμολογεῖν[1] ὅ,τι ξυγχωροίη,[2] δίδωσιν ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ. καὶ τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπον χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις τὰ τοιαῦτα ξυγχωρεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν καὶ ἀλαζόνων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ[3] γὰρ εἰ σφόδρα ἐπιτήδειοί τινές εἰσι πάσχειν κακῶς καὶ κολάζεσθαι, τούτους ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσθαι χρεών· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς ἥδε ξυννοοῦσα κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε[4] κόλασιν οὔτε C
τιμωρίαν ἐπαγαγεῖν οὐχ ὅπως βασιλείᾳ τινὸς ἢ πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἰκίᾳ μιᾷ τῶν πολιτῶν. προσθείην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε θαρρῶν εὖ μάλα, ὅτι μηδὲν

[1] φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον — ὁμολογεῖν Cobet, φησιν, ἐκβιαζόμενος—ὁμολογεῖ MSS., Hertlein, ἐκβιαζόμενον V, ὁμολογεῖν V, M.

[2] ξυγχωρεῖ Reiske.

[3] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Hertlein suggests.

[4] ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε Hertlein suggests, οὔτε ᾔτησεν ἄλλῳ ποτέ τινι οὔτε MSS.

votes of the jurymen were cast evenly for defendant and plaintiff, the vote of Athene[1] was awarded to him who would have incurred the penalty, and thus both were acquitted of guilt, he who had brought the accusation, of the reputation of sycophant, and the defendant, naturally, of the guilt of the crime. Now this humane and gracious custom is kept up in the suits which the Emperor judges, but Eusebia's mercy goes further. For whenever the defendant comes near to obtaining an equal number of votes, she persuades the Emperor, adding her request and entreaty on his behalf, to acquit the man entirely of the charge. And of free will with willing heart he grants the boon, and does not give it as Homer says Zeus, constrained by his wife, agreed as to what he should concede to her "of free will but with soul unwilling."[2] And perhaps it is not strange that he should concede this pardon reluctantly and under protest in the case of the violent and depraved. But not even when men richly deserve to suffer and be punished ought they to be utterly ruined. Now since the Empress recognises this, she has never bidden him inflict any injury of any kind, or any punishment or chastisement even on a single household of the citizens, much less on a whole kingdom or city. And I might add, with the utmost confidence that I am speaking the absolute truth, that in the case of no man or woman is it possible to charge her with any misfortune that has happened, but all the benefits that she

[1] The traditional founding of the ancient court of the Areopagus, which tried cases of homicide, is described in Aeschylus, *Eumenides*. Orestes, on trial at Athens for matricide, is acquitted, the votes being even, by the decision of Athene, who thereupon founds the tribunal, 485 foll.

[2] *Iliad* 4. 43.

ψεῦδός φημι, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς μιᾶς ἔστιν αὐτὴν αἰτιᾶσθαι ξυμφορᾶς τῳ τῆς τυχούσης, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ὅσα καὶ οὕστινας δρᾷ καὶ ἔδρασεν, ἡδέως ἂν ὑμῖν τὰ πλεῖστα ἐξαριθμησαίμην καθ' ἕκαστα ἀπαγγέλλων, ὡς ὅδε μὲν τὸν πατρῷον δι' ἐκείνην νέμεται κλῆρον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀπηλλάγη τιμωρίας, ὀφλήσας τοῖς νόμοις, ἄλλος D συκοφαντίαν διέφυγε, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου, τιμῆς δὲ ἔτυχον καὶ ἀρχῆς μυρίοι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐμὲ ψεύδεσθαι τῶν ἁπάντων φήσει, εἰ καὶ ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας μὴ καταλέγοιμι. ἀλλ' ὀκνῶ, μή τισιν ἐξονειδίζειν δόξω τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ οὐκ ἔπαινον τῶν ταύτης ἀγαθῶν, κατάλογον δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συγγράφειν ἀτυχημάτων. τοσούτων δὲ ἔργων μηδὲν παρασχέσθαι μηδὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγειν τεκμήριον κενόν πως εἶναι δοκεῖ 11 καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν ἄγει[1] τὸν ἔπαινον. οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνα παραιτησάμενος, ὁπόσα γ' ἐμοί τε εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίφθονον ταύτῃ τε ἀκούειν καλὰ λέγοιμ' ἂν ἤδη.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ γήμαντος εὔνοιαν τηλαυγέστατον πρόσωπον, κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν Πίνδαρον, ἀρχομένη τῶν ἔργων ἔθετο, γένος τε ἅπαν καὶ ξυγγενεῖς εὐθὺς ἐνέπλησε τιμῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἤδη γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐπὶ μειζόνων τάττουσα πράξεων καὶ ἀποφήνασα μακαρίους καὶ ζηλωτοὺς βασιλεῖ τ' ἐποίησε φίλους καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας τῆς παρούσης ἔδωκε τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ B

[1] ἄγει Cobet, ἄγειν MSS., Hertlein.

confers and has conferred, and on whom, I would gladly recount in as many cases as possible, and report them one by one, how for instance this man, thanks to her, enjoys his ancestral estate, and that man has been saved from punishment, though he was guilty in the eyes of the law, how a third escaped a malicious prosecution, though he came within an ace of the danger, how countless persons have received honour and office at her hands. And on this subject there is no one of them all who will assert that I speak falsely, even though I should not give a list of those persons by name. But this I hesitate to do, lest I should seem to some to be reproaching them with their sufferings, and to be composing not so much an encomium of her good deeds as a catalogue of the misfortunes of others. And yet, not to cite any of these acts of hers, and to bring no proof of them before the public seems perhaps to imply that they are lacking, and brings discredit on my encomium. Accordingly, to deprecate that charge, I shall relate so much as it is not invidious for me to speak or for her to hear.

When she had, in the beginning, secured her husband's good-will for her actions like a "frontage shining from afar," to use the words of the great poet Pindar,[1] she forthwith showered honours on all her family and kinsfolk, appointing to more important functions those who had already been tested and were of mature age, and making them seem fortunate and enviable, and she won for them the Emperor's friendship and laid the foundation of their present

[1] *Olympian Ode* 6. 4. Pindar says that, as though he were building the splendid forecourt of a house, he will begin his Ode with splendid words.

γὰρ εἴ τῳ δοκοῦσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀληθές, δι' αὑτοὺς
τίμιοι, ταύτῃ γε οἶμαι προσθήσει τὸν ἔπαινον· δῆ-
λον γὰρ ὅτι μὴ τῇ τοῦ γένους κοινωνίᾳ μόνον,
πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἀρετῇ φαίνεται νέμουσα· οὗ μεῖζον
οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τις ἐγκώμιον ἐρεῖ. περὶ μὲν τούσδε
γέγονε τοιάδε. ὅσοι δὲ ἀγνῶτες ἔτι διὰ νεότητα
τοῦ γνωρισθῆναι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐδέοντο, τούτοις C
ἐλάττονας διένειμε τιμάς. ἀπέλιπε δὲ οὐδὲν εὐερ-
γετοῦσα ξύμπαντας. καὶ οὐ τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς μόνον
τοσαῦτα ἔδρασεν ἀγαθά, ξενίαν δὲ ὅτῳ πρὸς τοὺς
ἐκείνης πατέρας ὑπάρξασαν ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀνόνητον
ἀφῆκε τοῖς κτησαμένοις, τιμᾷ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τούτους
καθάπερ ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ ὅσους τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνόμισε
φίλους, ἅπασιν ἔνειμε τῆς φιλίας ἔπαθλα θαυ- D
μαστά.

Ἐγὼ δέ, ἐπειδή μοι τεκμηρίων καθάπερ ἐν
δικαστηρίῳ τὸν λόγον ὁρῶ δεόμενον, αὐτὸς ὑμῖν
ἐμαυτὸν τούτων ἐκείνῳ[1] μάρτυρα καὶ ἐπαινέτην
παρέξομαι· ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μή ποτε ὑπιδόμενοι
τὴν μαρτυρίαν πρὶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν λόγων δια-
ταράττησθε, ὄμνυμι ὑμῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν ψεῦδος οὐδὲ
πλάσμα ἐρῶ· ὑμεῖς δὲ κἂν ἀνωμότῳ ἐπιστεύσατε
πάντα οὐ κολακείας ἕνεκα λέγειν.[2] ἔχω γὰρ ἤδη 11
τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἅπαντα τὰ
ἀγαθά, αὐτῆς γε οἶμαι καὶ ταύτης[3] ξυμπροθυμου-
μένης, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄν τις κολακεύων ἅπαντα ἀφείη

[1] ἐκείνῳ Hertlein suggests, ἐκείνων MSS.
[2] κἂν—ἐπιστεύσατε πάντα—λέγειν Cobet, καὶ—πιστεύσετε πάντα—λέγοντι MSS., πάντως V, Hertlein, πιστεύσατε V.
[3] αὐτῆς γε—ταύτης Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ τε—αὐτῆς MSS

prosperity. And if anyone thinks, what is in fact true, that on their own account they are worthy of honour, he will applaud her all the more. For it is evident that it was their merit, far more than the ties of kinship, that she rewarded; and one could hardly pay her a higher compliment than that. Such then was her treatment of these. And to all who, since they were still obscure on account of their youth, needed recognition of any sort, she awarded lesser honours. In fact she left nothing undone to help one and all. And not only on her kinsfolk has she conferred such benefits, but whenever she learned that ties of friendship used to exist with her ancestors, she has not allowed it to be unprofitable to those who owned such ties, but she honours them, I understand, no less than her own kinsfolk, and to all whom she regards as her father's friends she dispensed wonderful rewards for their friendship.

But since I see that my account is in need of proofs, just as in a law-court, I will offer myself to bear witness on its behalf to these actions and to applaud them. But lest you should mistrust my evidence and cause a disturbance before you have heard what I have to say, I swear that I will tell you no falsehood or fiction; although you would have believed, even without an oath, that I am saying all this without intent to flatter. For I already possess, by the grace of God and the Emperor, and because the Empress too was zealous in my behalf, all those blessings to gain which

ῥήματα, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν πρὸ τούτων ἔλεγον, ἴσως ἐχρῆν ὀρρωδεῖν τὴν ἄδικον ὑποψίαν· νῦν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ γεγονὼς τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύων τῶν ἐκείνης εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἔργων παρέξομαι ὑμῖν εὐγνωμοσύνης μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ σημεῖον, μαρτύριον δὲ ἀληθὲς τῶν ἐκείνης ἔργων. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ B
δὴ καὶ Δαρεῖον, ἕως ἔτι δορυφόρος ἦν τοῦ Περσῶν μονάρχου, τῷ Σαμίῳ ξένῳ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον συμβαλεῖν φεύγοντι τὴν αὑτοῦ, καὶ λαβόντα φοινικίδα τινὰ δῶρον, οὗ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει, τὴν Σαμίων ὕστερον ἀντιδοῦναι τυραννίδα, ὁπηνίκα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης κύριος κατέστη. εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ μὲν παρ' αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἔτι ζῆν ἐξῆν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, τὰ μέγιστα δὲ δι' αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ γενναίου καὶ μεγαλόφρονος C
βασιλέως λαβὼν ὁμολογοίην τοῦ μὲν ἀντιδοῦναι τὴν ἴσην λείπεσθαι· ἔχει γάρ, οἶμαι, ξύμπαντα παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἡμῖν χαρισαμένου λαβοῦσα· τῷ βούλεσθαι δὲ τὴν μνήμην ἀθάνατον αὐτῇ τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλειν τυχὸν οὐκ ἀγνωμονέστερος φανοῦμαι τοῦ Πέρσου, εἴπερ εἰς τὴν γνώμην ὁρῶντα χρὴ κρίνειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτῳ παρέσχεν ἡ τύχη πολλαπλάσιον ἀποτῖσαι τὸ εὐεργέτημα.

Τί ποτε οὖν ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον εὖ παθεῖν φημι καὶ D
ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὑπόχρεων ἐμαυτὸν

a flatterer would leave nothing unsaid, so that, if I were speaking before obtaining these, perhaps I should have to dread that unjust suspicion. But as it is, since this is the state of my fortunes, I will recall her conduct to me, and at the same time give you a proof of my own right-mindedness and truthful evidence of her good deeds. I have heard that Darius, while he was still in the bodyguard of the Persian monarch,[1] met, in Egypt, a Samian stranger[2] who was an exile from his own country, and accepted from him the gift of a scarlet cloak to which Darius had taken a great fancy, and that later on, in the days when, I understand, he had become the master of all Asia, he gave him in return the tyranny of Samos. And now suppose that I acknowledge that, though I received many kindnesses at Eusebia's hands, at a time when I was still permitted to live in peaceful obscurity, and many also, by her intercession, from our noble and magnanimous Emperor, I must needs fall short of making an equal return; for as I know, she possesses everything already, as the gift of him who was so generous to myself; yet since I desire that the memory of her good deeds should be immortal, and since I am relating them to you, perhaps I shall not be thought less mindful of my debt than the Persian, seeing that in forming a judgment it is to the intention that one must look, and not to an instance in which fortune granted a man the power to repay his obligation many times over.

Why, then, I say that I have been so kindly treated, and in return for what I acknowledge that I am her

[1] Cambyses.

[2] Syloson, Herodotus 3 139; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 29; Themistius 67 A, 109 D

εἶναι χάριτος ὁμολογῶ τῇδε, σφόδρα ὥρμησθε ἀκούειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὑτοσὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ παιδὸς νηπίου γεγονὼς ἤπιος πᾶσαν ὑπερεβάλλετο φιλοτιμίαν, κινδύνων τε ἐξαρπάσας τηλικούτων, οὓς οὐδ' ἂν ἡβῶν ἀνὴρ εὖ μάλα διαφύγοι, μὴ θείας 118
τινὸς καὶ ἀμηχάνου σωτηρίας τυχών, εἶτα τὴν οἰκίαν καταληφθεῖσαν καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐρημίας παρά του τῶν δυναστῶν ἀφείλετο ξὺν δίκῃ καὶ ἀπέφηνεν αὖθις πλούσιον. καὶ ἄλλα ἂν ἔχοιμι περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἔργα πολλῆς ἄξια χάριτος, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον εὔνουν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ καὶ πιστὸν παρέχων οὐκ οἶδα ἐκ τίνος αἰτίας τραχυτέρως ἔχοντος B
ᾐσθόμην ἔναγχος. ἡ δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἤκουσεν ἀδικήματος μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄνομα, ματαίας δὲ ἄλλως ὑποψίας, ἠξίου διελέγχειν καὶ μὴ πρότερον προσέσθαι μηδὲ ἐνδέξασθαι ψευδῆ καὶ ἄδικον διαβολήν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆκε ταῦτα δεομένη πρὶν ἐμὲ ἤγαγεν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως καὶ τυχεῖν ἐποίησε λόγου· καὶ ἀπολυομένῳ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἄδικον συνήσθη, καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπιθυμοῦντι πάλιν ἀπιέναι πομπὴν ἀσφαλῆ παρέσχεν, ἐπιτρέψαι C
πρῶτον τὸν βασιλέα ξυμπείσασα. δαίμονος δέ, ὅσπερ οὖν ἐῴκει μοι τὰ πρόσθεν μηχανήσασθαι, ἤ τινος ξυντυχίας ἀλλοκότου τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ὑποτεμομένης, ἐποψόμενον πέμπει τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ταύτην αἰτήσασα παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀποδημοῦντος ἤδη τὴν χάριν, ἐπειδή με λόγοις ἐπέπυστο χαίρειν καὶ παιδείᾳ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ξυννοοῦσα. ἐγὼ δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτῇ

debtor for all time, that is what you are eager to hear. Nor shall I conceal the facts. The Emperor was kind to me almost from my infancy, and he surpassed all generosity, for he snatched me from dangers so great that not even "a man in the strength of his youth"[1] could easily have escaped them, unless he obtained some means of safety sent by heaven and not attainable by human means, and after my house had been seized by one of those in power, as though there were none to defend it, he recovered it for me, as was just, and made it wealthy once more. And I could tell you of still other kindnesses on his part towards myself, that deserve all gratitude, in return for which I ever showed myself loyal and faithful to him; but nevertheless of late I perceived that, I know not why, he was somewhat harsh towards me. Now the Empress no sooner heard a bare mention, not of any actual wrong-doing but of mere idle suspicion, than she deigned to investigate it, and before doing so would not admit or listen to any falsehood or unjust slander, but persisted in her request until she brought me into the Emperor's presence and procured me speech with him. And she rejoiced when I was acquitted of every unjust charge, and when I wished to return home, she first persuaded the Emperor to give his permission, and then furnished me with a safe escort. Then when some deity, the one I think who devised my former troubles, or perhaps some unfriendly chance, cut short this journey, she sent me to visit Greece, having asked this favour on my behalf from the Emperor, when I had already left the country. This was because she had learned that I delighted in literature, and she knew that that place is the home of culture. Then

[1] *Iliad* 12. 382 ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ μάλ' ἡβῶν.

καὶ πρώτῳ γε, ὡς εἰκός, βασιλεῖ πολλὰ καὶ D
ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τὸν θεὸν ηὐχόμην, ὅτι μοι τὴν
ἀληθινὴν ποθοῦντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντι πατρίδα παρ-
έσχον ἰδεῖν· ἐσμὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ περὶ τὴν
Θρᾴκην καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν οἰκοῦντες ἔγγονοι, καὶ
ὅστις ἡμῶν μὴ λίαν ἀγνώμων, ποθεῖ προσειπεῖν
τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτὴν ἀσπάσασθαι.
ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ πάλαι μὲν ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, ποθεινόν,
καὶ ὑπάρξαι μοι τοῦτο ἐβουλόμην μᾶλλον ἢ 119
πολὺ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ
ἀγαθῶν φημι ξυντυχίαν πρὸς χρυσίου πλῆθος
ὁσονδηοῦν ἐξεταζομένην καθέλκειν τὸν ζυγὸν
καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ σώφρονι κριτῇ οὐδὲ ἐπ᾽
ὀλίγον ῥοπῆς ἐπιστῆσαι.

Παιδείας δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοσοφίας πέπονθεν
οἶμαι νῦν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραπλήσιόν τι
τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μυθολογήμασι καὶ λόγοις.
λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Νεῖλον παρ᾽ B
αὐτοῖς εἶναι τά τ᾽ ἄλλα σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀπείργειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πυρὸς φθοράν, ὁπόταν ἥλιος διὰ μακρῶν τινων
περιόδων ἄστροις γενναίοις συνελθὼν ἢ συγγε-
νόμενος ἐμπλήσῃ τὸν ἀέρα πυρὸς καὶ ἐπιφλέγῃ
τὰ σύμπαντα. οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει, φασίν, ἀφανί-
σαι οὐδὲ ἐξαναλῶσαι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς πηγάς. οὔκ-
ουν οὐδὲ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων παντελῶς οἴχεται φιλοσοφία, C
οὐδὲ ἐπέλιπε τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην οὐδὲ
τὴν Κόρινθον· ἥκιστα δέ ἐστι τούτων[1] τῶν πηγῶν
ἔκητι τὸ Ἄργος πολυδίψιον· πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος
περὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον Μάσητα· τὴν Πειρήνην

[1] τούτων Reiske adds.

indeed I prayed first, as is meet, for the Emperor, and next for Eusebia, that God would grant them many blessings, because when I longed and desired to behold my true fatherland, they made it possible. For we who dwell in Thrace and Ionia are the sons of Hellas, and all of us who are not devoid of feeling long to greet our ancestors and to embrace the very soil of Hellas. So this had long been, as was natural, my dearest wish, and I desired it more than to possess treasures of gold and silver. For I consider that intercourse with distinguished men, when weighed in the balance with any amount whatever of gold, drags down the beam, and does not permit a prudent judge even to hesitate over a slight turn of the scale.

Now, as regards learning and philosophy, the condition of Greece in our day reminds one somewhat of the tales and traditions of the Egyptians. For the Egyptians say that the Nile in their country is not only the saviour and benefactor of the land, but also wards off destruction by fire, when the sun, throughout long periods, in conjunction or combination with fiery constellations, fills the atmosphere with heat and scorches everything. For it has not power enough, so they say, to evaporate or exhaust the fountains of the Nile. And so too neither from the Greeks has philosophy altogether departed, nor has she forsaken Athens or Sparta or Corinth. And, as regards these fountains, Argos can by no means be called "thirsty,"[1] for there are many in the city itself and many also south of the city, round about Mases,[2] famous of old. Yet Sicyon, not Corinth,

[1] *Iliad* 4. 171. [2] The port of Argolis.

δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυὼν ἔχει καὶ οὐχ ἡ Κόρινθος. τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐπιχώρια τὰ νάματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπιρρεῖ καὶ ἐπιφέρεται τίμια τῶν ἔνδον οὐ μεῖον· οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶσι καὶ στέργουσι, πλουτεῖν ἐθέλοντες οὗ μόνου D
σχεδὸν ὁ πλοῦτος ζηλωτόν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ποτε ἄρα πεπόνθαμεν; καὶ τίνα νῦν περαίνειν διανοούμεθα[1] λόγον, εἰ μὴ τῆς φίλης Ἑλλάδος ἔπαινον, ἧς[2] οὐκ ἔστι μνησθέντα μὴ πάντα θαυμάζειν; ἀλλ' οὐ φήσει τις τυχὸν ὑπομνησθεὶς τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ταῦτα ἐθέλειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν, καθάπερ δὲ τοὺς Κορυβαντιῶντας ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν ἐπεγειρομένους χορεύειν καὶ πηδᾶν οὐδενὶ ξὺν λόγῳ, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς μνήμης 120
τῶν παιδικῶν ἀνακινηθέντας ᾆσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγκώμιον. πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον ἀπολογεῖσθαι χρεὼν ὧδέ πως λέγοντα· ὦ δαιμόνιε, καὶ τέχνης ἀληθῶς γενναίας ἡγεμών, σοφὸν μὲν χρῆμα ἐπινοεῖς, οὐκ ἐφιεὶς οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπων τῶν ἐπαινουμένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μεθίεσθαι, ἅτε αὐτὸς οἶμαι ξὺν τέχνῃ τοῦτο δρῶν. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον, ὃν σὺ φὴς αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἐν τοῖς B
λόγοις ἀταξίας, ἐπειδὴ προσγέγονεν, οἶμαι, παρακελεύεσθαι μὴ σφόδρα ὀκνεῖν μηδὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἁπτόμεθα[3] λόγων δεῖξαι ἐθέλοντες, ὅσων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία γέγονε τιμῶσα τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὅντινά μοι τρόπον ἐπικείμενον ἀγαπήσαντι μὲν

[1] περαίνειν διανοούμεθα Hertlein suggests, διαπεραίνειν οἰόμεθα MSS. [2] ἧς Horkel adds.
[3] ἁπτόμεθα Cobet, ἡττώμεθα V, ἡψάμεθα MSS., Hertlein.

possesses Peirene itself. And Athens has many such streams, pure and springing from the soil, and many flow into the city from abroad, but no less precious than those that are native. And her people love and cherish them and desire to be rich in that which alone makes wealth enviable.

But as for me, what has come over me? And what speech do I intend to achieve if not a panegyric of my beloved Hellas, of which one cannot make mention without admiring everything? But perhaps someone, remembering what I said earlier, will say that this is not what I intended to discuss when I began, and that, just as Corybants when excited by the flute dance and leap without method, so I, spurred on by the mention of my beloved city, am chanting the praises of that country and her people. To him I must make excuse somewhat as follows: Good sir, you who are the guide to an art that is genuinely noble, that is a wise notion of yours, for you do not permit or grant one to let go even for a moment the theme of a panegyric, seeing that you yourself maintain your theme with skill. Yet in my case, since there has come over me this impulse of affection which you say is to blame for the lack of order in my arguments, you really urge me, I think, not to be too much afraid of it or to take precautions against criticism. For I am not embarking on irrevelant themes if I wish to show how great were the blessings that Eusebia procured for me because she honoured the name of philosophy. And yet the name of philosopher which has been, I

εὖ μάλα τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐρασθέντι δεινῶς τοῦ
πράγματος, ἀπολειφθέντι δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὅντινα
τρόπον ὄνομα ἐτύγχανε μόνον καὶ λόγος ἔργου C
στερόμενος. ἡ δὲ ἐτίμα καὶ τοὔνομα· αἰτίαν
γὰρ δὴ ἄλλην οὔτε αὐτὸς εὑρίσκω οὔτε ἄλλου
του πυθέσθαι δύναμαι, δι᾽ ἣν οὕτω μοι πρό-
θυμος γέγονε βοηθὸς καὶ ἀλεξίκακος καὶ σώ-
τειρα, τὴν τοῦ γενναίου βασιλέως εὔνοιαν ἀκέ-
ραιον ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσινῆ μένειν ξὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ
πραγματευσαμένη, ἧς μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν οὔποτε ἐγώ τι
τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νομίσας ἑάλων, οὐ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς
καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸν ἀντάξιον οὐδ᾽ ἀργύρου πλῆθος, D
ὁπόσος νῦν ἐστιν ὑπ᾽ αὐγὰς ἡλίου, καὶ εἴ ποτε
ἄλλος προσγένοιτο, τῶν μεγίστων ὀρῶν αὐταῖς,
οἶμαι, πέτραις καὶ δένδρεσι μεταβαλλόντων εἰς
τήνδε τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν μεγίστην οὐδὲ
ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνης
ταῦτά μοι γέγονε πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα οὐδεὶς ἂν
ἤλπισεν, οὐ σφόδρα πολλῶν δεομένῳ γε οὐδὲ
ἐμαυτὸν ἐλπίσι τοιαύταις τρέφοντι.

Εὔνοιαν δὲ ἀληθινὴν οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς χρυσίον ἀμεί-
ψασθαι, οὐδὲ ἄν τις αὐτὴν ἐντεῦθεν πρίαιτο, θείᾳ δέ 121
τινι καὶ κρείττονι μοίρᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν συμπρο-
θυμουμένων παραγίγνεται.[1] ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ παρὰ
βασιλέως παιδὶ μὲν ὑπῆρχε κατὰ θεόν, ὀλίγου δὲ
οἴχεσθαι δεῆσαν ἀπεσώθη πάλιν τῆς βασιλίδος
ἀμυνούσης καὶ ἀπειργούσης τὰς ψευδεῖς καὶ ἀλλο-
κότους ὑποψίας. ἃς ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ἐκείνη
διέλυσεν, ἐναργεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῷ βίῳ τὠμῷ χρωμένη,

[1] παραγίγνεται Reiske, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.

know not why, applied to myself, is really in my case nothing but a name and lacks reality, for though I love the reality and am terribly enamoured of the thing itself, yet for some reason I have fallen short of it. But Eusebia honoured even the name. For no other reason can I discover, nor learn from anyone else, why she became so zealous an ally of mine, and an averter of evil and my preserver, and took such trouble and pains in order that I might retain unaltered and unaffected our noble Emperor's good-will; and I have never been convicted of thinking that there is any greater blessing in this world than that good-will, since all the gold above the earth or beneath the earth is not worth so much, nor all the mass of silver that is now beneath the sun's rays or may be added thereto,[1] not though the loftiest mountains, let us suppose, stones and trees and all were to change to that substance, nor the greatest sovereignty there is, nor anything else in the whole world. And I do indeed owe it to her that these blessings are mine, so many and greater than anyone could have hoped for, for in truth I did not ask for much, nor did I nourish myself with any such hopes.

But genuine kindness one cannot obtain in exchange for money, nor could anyone purchase it by such means, but it exists only when men of noble character work in harmony with a sort of divine and higher providence. And this the Emperor bestowed on me even as a child, and when it had almost vanished it was restored again to me because the Empress defended me and warded off those false and monstrous suspicions. And when, using the evidence of my life as plain proof, she had completely

[1] *Iliad* 9. 380.

καλοῦντός τε αὖθις τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπήκουον, ἆρα ἐνταῦθα κατέλιπεν, ὡς οὐκέτι πολλῆς βοηθείας, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐν μέσῳ δυσχεροῦς οὐδὲ ὑπόπτου, δεόμενον; καὶ πῶς ἂν ὅσια δρῴην οὕτως ἐναργῆ καὶ σεμνὰ σιωπῶν καὶ ἀποκρύπτων; κυρουμένης τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ταυτησὶ τῆς γνώμης διαφερόντως ηὐφραίνετο καὶ συνεπήχει μουσικόν, θαρρεῖν κελεύουσα καὶ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος δείσαντα τῶν διδομένων ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν, μήτε ἀγροίκῳ καὶ αὐθάδει[1] χρησάμενον παρρησίᾳ φαύλως ἀτιμάσαι τοῦ τοσαῦτα ἐργασαμένου ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν αἴτησιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπήκουον οὔτι τοῦτό γε ἡδέως σφόδρα ὑπομένων, ἄλλως δὲ ἀπειθεῖν χαλεπὸν ὂν σφόδρα ἠπιστάμην. οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἐξῇ πράττειν ὅ, τι ἂν ἐθέλωσι σὺν βίᾳ, ἢ που δεόμενοι δυσωπεῖν καὶ πείθειν ἀρκοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδή μοι πεισθέντι γέγονε καὶ μεταβαλόντι ἐσθῆτα καὶ θεραπείαν καὶ διατριβὰς τὰς συνήθεις καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ δίαιταν πάντα ὄγκου πλέα καὶ σεμνότητος ἐκ μικρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ φαύλων τῶν πρόσθεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀηθείας ἡ ψυχὴ διεταράττετο, οὔτι τὸ μέγεθος ἐκπληττομένῳ τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν· σχεδὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδὲ μεγάλα ταῦτα ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς χρωμένοις μὲν ὀρθῶς σφόδρα ὠφελίμους, ἁμαρτάνουσι δὲ περὶ τὴν χρῆσιν βλαβερὰς καὶ οἴκοις καὶ πόλεσι πολλαῖς μυρίων αἰτίας ξυμφορῶν. παραπλήσια

[1] [λιάν] αὐθάδει Hertlein.

cleared me of them, and I obeyed once more the Emperor's summons from Greece, did she ever forsake me, as though, now that all enmity and suspicion had been removed, I no longer needed much assistance? Would my conduct be pious if I kept silence and concealed actions so manifest and so honourable? For when a good opinion of me was established in the Emperor's mind, she rejoiced exceedingly, and echoed him harmoniously, bidding me take courage and neither refuse out of awe to accept the greatness[1] of what was offered to me, nor, by employing a boorish and arrogant frankness, unworthily slight the urgent request of him who had shown me such favour. And so I obeyed, though it was by no means agreeable to me to support this burden, and besides I knew well that to refuse was altogether impracticable. For when those who have the power to exact by force what they wish condescend to entreat, naturally they put one out of countenance and there is nothing left but to obey. Now when I consented, I had to change my mode of dress, and my attendants, and my habitual pursuits, and my very house and way of life for what seemed full of pomp and ceremony to one whose past had naturally been so modest and humble, and my mind was confused by the strangeness, though it was certainly not dazzled by the magnitude of the favours that were now mine. For in my ignorance I hardly regarded them as great blessings, but rather as powers of the greatest benefit, certainly, to those who use them aright, but, when mistakes are made in their use, as being harmful to many houses and cities and the cause of countless disasters. So I felt

[1] The title of Caesar.

δὲ ἐπεπόνθειν ἀνδρὶ σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἡνιοχικῆς ἔχοντι καὶ οὐδὲ ἐθελήσαντι ταύτης μεταλαβεῖν τῆς τέχνης, κᾆτα ἀναγκαζομένῳ καλοῦ καὶ γενναίου κομίζειν ἅρμα ἡνιόχου, πολλὰς μὲν ξυνωρίδας, πολλὰ δέ, οἶμαι, τέτρωρα τρέφοντος καὶ ἅπασι μὲν ἐπιβεβηκότος, διὰ δὲ[1] γενναιότητα φύσεως καὶ ῥώμην ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἔχοντος οἶμαι τὰς ἡνίας πάντων ἐγκρατῶς, εἰ καὶ B
ἐπὶ τῆς μιᾶς ἄντυγος βαίνοι, οὐ μὴν ἀεί γε ἐπ' αὐτῆς μένοντος, μεταφερομένου δὲ πολλάκις ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἀμείβοντος δίφρον ἐκ δίφρου, εἴ ποτε τοὺς ἵππους πονουμένους ἢ καὶ ὑβρίσαντας αἴσθοιτο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἅρμασι τοῖσδε κεκτημένου τέτρωρον ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας καὶ θράσους ὑβρίζον, πιεζόμενον τῇ συνεχεῖ ταλαιπωρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ θράσους οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπιλαθόμενον, ἀγριαῖνον δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ παροξυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπὶ C
τὸ μᾶλλον ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν, οὐ δεχόμενον ἀμῶς γέ πῃ πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁρῴη τὸν ἡνίοχον[2] διὰ τέλους χαλεπαῖνον ἤ, τό γε ἔλαττον, στολὴν γοῦν ἡνιοχικὴν ἄνθρωπον φοροῦντα·[3] οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀλόγιστον φύσει. ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, παραμυθούμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄνοιαν ἄνδρα ἐπέστησε, δοὺς φορεῖν[4] τοιαύτην ἐσθῆτα καὶ σχῆμα περιβαλὼν ἡνιόχου σεμνοῦ καὶ ἐπιστή- D
μονος, ὃς εἰ μὲν ἄφρων εἴη παντελῶς καὶ ἀνόητος, χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ μετέωρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἱματίων καθάπερ πτερῶν ἐπαίρεται, συνέσεως δὲ εἰ καὶ

[1] δὲ Hertlein adds.

[2] ἀμῶς γέ πῃ—τὸν ἡνίοχον Reiske, ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον MSS., Hertlein.

[3] φοροῦντα Hertlein suggests, φέροντα MSS.

[4] φορεῖν Hertlein suggests, φέρειν MSS.

like a man who is altogether unskilled in driving a chariot,[1] and is not at all inclined to acquire the art, and then is compelled to manage a car that belongs to a noble and talented charioteer, one who keeps many pairs and many four-in-hands too, let us suppose, and has mounted behind them all, and because of his natural talent and uncommon strength has a strong grip on the reins of all of them, even though he is mounted on one chariot; yet he does not always remain on it, but often moves to this side or that and changes from car to car, whenever he perceives that his horses are distressed or are getting out of hand; and among these chariots he has a team of four that become restive from ignorance and high spirit, and are oppressed by continuous hard work, but none the less are mindful of that high spirit, and ever grow more unruly and are irritated by their distress, so that they grow more restive and disobedient and pull against the driver and refuse to go in a certain direction, and unless they see the charioteer himself or at least some man wearing the dress of a charioteer, end by becoming violent, so unreasoning are they by nature. But when the charioteer encourages some unskilful man, and sets him over them, and allows him to wear the same dress as his own, and invests him with the outward seeming of a splendid and skilful charioteer, then if he be altogether foolish and witless, he rejoices and is glad and is buoyed up and exalted by those robes, as though by wings, but, if he has

[1] To illustrate the skill and, at the same time, the difficult position of Constantius as sole Emperor, Julian describes an impossible feat. The restive teams are the provinces of the Empire, which had hitherto been controlled by two or more Emperors.

ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μετέχοι καὶ σώφρονος νοῦ, σφόδρα εὐλαβεῖται,

> μήπως αὐτόν τε τρώσῃ σύν θ' ἅρματα ἄξῃ,

καὶ τῷ μὲν ἡνιόχῳ ζημίας, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχρᾶς καὶ
ἀδόξου συμφορᾶς αἴτιος γένηται. ταῦτα ἐγὼ
ἐλογιζόμην ἐν νυκτὶ βουλεύων καὶ δι' ἡμέρας κατ'
ἐμαυτὸν ἐπισκοπούμενος, σύννους ὢν ἀεὶ καὶ 12
σκυθρωπός. ὁ γενναῖος δὲ καὶ θεῖος ἀληθῶς αὐτο-
κράτωρ ἀφῄρει τι πάντως τῶν ἀλγεινῶν, ἔργοις
καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος. τέλος δὲ τὴν
βασιλίδα προσειπεῖν κελεύει, θάρσος τε ἡμῖν
ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ τοῦ σφόδρα πιστεύειν γενναῖον εὖ
μάλα παρέχων γνώρισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον
ἐς ὄψιν ἐκείνης ἦλθον, ἐδόκουν μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ
καθιδρυμένον ἄγαλμα σωφροσύνης ὁρᾶν· αἰδὼς δὲ
ἐπεῖχε τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ ἐπέπηκτό μοι κατὰ γῆς τὰ
ὄμματα συχνὸν ἐπιεικῶς χρόνον, ἕως ἐκείνη
θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε. καὶ Τὰ μέν, ἔφη, ἤδη παρ' ἡμῶν
ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἕξεις σὺν θεῷ, μόνον εἰ πιστὸς καὶ
δίκαιος εἰς ἡμᾶς γένοιο. τοσαῦτα ἤκουσα σχεδόν·
οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴ πλείονα[1] ἐφθέγξατο, καὶ ταῦτα
ἐπισταμένη τῶν γενναίων ῥητόρων οὐδὲ ἓν φαυλο- B
τέρους ἀπαγγέλλειν λόγους. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς
ἐντεύξεως ἀπαλλαγεὶς σφόδρα ἐθαύμασα καὶ
ἐξεπεπλήγμην, ἐναργῶς δοκῶν ἀκηκοέναι σωφρο-
σύνης αὐτῆς φθεγγομένης· οὕτω πρᾷον ἦν αὐτῇ
φθέγμα καὶ μείλιχον, ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐγκαθιδρυ- C
μένον.

Βούλεσθε οὖν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔργα καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασεν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λεπτουρ-

[1] πλείονα Hertlein suggests, πλεῖον MSS.

even a small share of common sense and prudent understanding, he is very much alarmed "Lest he both injure himself and shatter his chariot withal,"[1] and so cause loss to the charioteer and bring on himself shameful and inglorious disaster. On all this, then, I reflected, taking counsel with myself in the night season, and in the daytime pondering it with myself, and I was continually thoughtful and gloomy. Then the noble and truly godlike Emperor lessened my torment in every way, and showed me honour and favour both in deed and word. And at last he bade me address myself to the Empress, inspiring me with courage and giving me a very generous indication that I might trust her completely. Now when first I came into her presence it seemed to me as though I beheld a statue of Modesty set up in some temple. Then reverence filled my soul, and my eyes were fixed upon the ground[2] for some considerable time, till she bade me take courage. Then she said: "Certain favours you have already received from us and yet others you shall receive, if God will, if only you prove to be loyal and honest towards us." This was almost as much as I heard. For she herself did not say more, and that though she knew how to utter speeches not a whit inferior to those of the most gifted orators. And I, when I had departed from this interview, felt the deepest admiration and awe, and was clearly convinced that it was Modesty herself I had heard speaking. So gentle and comforting was her utterance, and it is ever firmly settled in my ears.

Do you wish then that I should report to you what she did after this, and all the blessings she

[1] *Iliad* 23. 341. [2] *Iliad* 3. 217.

γοῦντες ἀπαγγέλλωμεν; ἢ τά γε ἐντεῦθεν ἀθρόως ἑλόντες, καθάπερ ἔδρασεν αὐτὴ,[1] πάντα ὁμοῦ διηγησώμεθα; ὁπόσους μὲν εὖ ἐποίησε τῶν ἐμοὶ D
γνωρίμων, ὅπως δὲ ἐμοὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν γάμον ἥρμοσεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴσως ποθεῖτε καὶ τὸν κατάλογον ἀκούειν τῶν δώρων,

> ἕπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα

καὶ λέβητας ἐείκοσιν. ἀλλ' οὔ μοι σχολὴ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδολεσχεῖν· ἑνὸς δὲ ἴσως τῶν ἐκείνης δώρων τυχὸν οὐκ ἄχαρι καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπομνημονεῦσαι, ᾧ μοι δοκῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡσθῆναι[2] διαφερόντως· βίβλους γὰρ φιλοσόφων καὶ ξυγγραφέων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν καὶ ποιη- 12
τῶν, ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ὀλίγας οἴκοθεν ἔφερον, ἐλπίδι καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ πάλιν οἴκαδε ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ψυχαγωγούμενος, ἔδωκεν ἀθρόως τοσαύτας, ὥστε ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀποπλῆσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν σφόδρα ἀκορέστως ἔχοντος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνας[3] συνουσίας, μουσεῖον δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀποφῆναι βιβλίων ἕκητι τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Κελτίδα. τούτοις ἐγὼ προσκαθήμενος συνεχῶς τοῖς δώροις, εἴ ποτε σχολὴν ἄγοιμι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἐπιλανθάνωμαι τῆς χαρισαμένης· ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατευ- B
ομένῳ μοι ἕν γέ τι πάντως ἕπεται οἷον ἐφόδιον τῆς στρατείας πρὸς αὐτόπτου πάλαι ξυγκείμενον. πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν[4] ἐμπειρίας ὑπομνήματα ξὺν τέχνῃ γραφέντα τοῖς ἁμαρτοῦσι

[1] αὐτὴ Hertlein suggests, αὕτη MSS.
[2] [σφόδρα] ἡσθῆναι Hertlein.
[3] ἐκείνας Reiske, ἐκεῖνα MSS., Hertlein.
[4] παλαιῶν [ἔργων] Hertlein.

conferred on me, and that I should give precise details one by one? Or shall I take up my tale concisely as she did herself, and sum up the whole? Shall I tell how many of my friends she benefited, and how with the Emperor's help she arranged my marriage? But perhaps you wish to hear also the list of her presents to me: "Seven tripods untouched by fire and ten talents of gold,"[1] and twenty caldrons. But I have no time to gossip about such subjects. Nevertheless one of those gifts of hers it would perhaps not be ungraceful to mention to you, for it was one with which I was myself especially delighted. For she gave me the best books on philosophy and history, and many of the orators and poets, since I had brought hardly any with me from home, deluding myself with the hope and longing to return home again, and gave them in such numbers, and all at once, that even my desire for them was satisfied, though I am altogether insatiable of converse with literature; and, so far as books went, she made Galatia[2] and the country of the Celts resemble a Greek temple of the Muses. And to these gifts I applied myself incessantly whenever I had leisure, so that I can never be unmindful of the gracious giver. Yes, even when I take the field one thing above all else goes with me as a necessary provision for the campaign, some one narrative of a campaign composed long ago by an eye-witness. For many of those records of the experience of men of old, written as they are with the greatest skill, furnish to those who, by reason of their

[1] *Iliad* 9. 122. [2] Gaul.

διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς θέας ἐναργῆ καὶ λαμπρὰν εἰκόνα φέρει τῶν πάλαι πραχθέντων, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἤδη καὶ νέοι πολλοὶ γερόντων μυρίων πολιὸν μᾶλλον ἐκτήσαντο τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς φρένας, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν C
ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τοῦ γήρως ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μόνον, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, δι᾽ ἣν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔχει τι λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφώτερον, τοῖς οὐ ῥᾳθύμοις τῶν νέων ἔδωκεν. ἔστι δὲ οἶμαί τις ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ παιδαγωγία πρὸς ἦθος γενναῖον, εἴ τις ἐπίσταιτο τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας καὶ λόγους καὶ πράξεις, οἷον ἀρχέτυπα προτιθέμενος δημιουργός, πλάττειν ἤδη πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν αὑτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν τοὺς[1] λόγους. ὧν εἰ μὴ παμπληθὲς ἀπολειφθείη, τυγχάνοι δὲ καὶ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον τῆς D
ὁμοιότητος, οὐ σμικρὰ ἂν ὄναιτο, εὖ ἴστε. ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλάκις ξυννοῶν παιδιάν τε οὐκ ἄμουσον ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦμαι καὶ στρατευόμενος καθάπερ σιτία φέρειν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλω· μέτρον δέ ἐστι τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φερομένων ὁ καιρός.

Ἀλλὰ μή ποτε οὐκ ἐκείνων χρὴ νῦν τὸν ἔπαινον γράφειν οὐδὲ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐνθένδε, ὁπόσου δὲ τὸ δῶρον ἄξιον καταμαθόντας 125
χάριν ἀποτίνειν τυχὸν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίαν τοῦ δοθέντος τῇ χαρισαμένῃ. λόγων γὰρ ἀστείων καὶ παντοδαπῶν θησαυροὺς τὸν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις δεξά-

[1] Before τοὺς Klimek omits πρὸς.

youth, have missed seeing such a spectacle, a clear and brilliant picture of those ancient exploits, and by this means many a tiro has acquired a more mature understanding and judgment than belongs to very many older men; and that advantage which people think old age alone can give to mankind, I mean experience (for experience it is that enables an old man "to talk more wisely than the young"[1]), even this the study of history can give to the young if only they are diligent. Moreover, in my opinion, there is in such books a means of liberal education for the character, supposing that one understands how, like a craftsman, setting before himself as patterns the noblest men and words and deeds, to mould his own character to match them, and make his words resemble theirs. And if he should not wholly fall short of them, but should achieve even some slight resemblance, believe me that would be for him the greatest good fortune. And it is with this idea constantly before me that not only do I give myself a literary education by means of books, but even on my campaigns I never fail to carry them like necessary provisions. The number that I take with me is limited only by particular circumstances.

But perhaps I ought not now to be writing a panegyric on books, nor to describe all the benefits that we might derive from them, but since I recognise how much that gift was worth, I ought to pay back to the gracious giver thanks not perhaps altogether different in kind from what she gave. For it is only just that one who has accepted clever discourses of all sorts laid up as treasure in books, should sound a

[1] Euripides, *Phoenissae* 532.

μενον οὐκ ἄδικον διὰ σμικρῶν καὶ φαύλων ῥημάτων ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀγροίκως ἄγαν ξυγκειμένων ᾄδειν εὐφημίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ γεωργὸν φήσεις εὐγνώμονα, ὃς καταφυτεύειν μὲν τὴν φυταλιὰν ἀρχόμενος κλήματα ᾔτει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων, εἶτα ἐκτρέφων τὰς ἀμπέλους δίκελλαν καὶ αὖθις σμινύην, καὶ τέλος ἤδη κάλαμον, ᾧ χρὴ προσδεδέσθαι καὶ ἐπικεῖσθαι τὴν ἄμπελον, ἵνα αὐτή τε ἀνέχηται καὶ οἱ βότρυες ἐξηρτημένοι μηδαμοῦ ψαύωσι τῆς βώλου, τυχόντα δὲ ὧν ἐδεῖτο μόνον ἐμπίπλασθαι τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς χάριτος οὔτε τῶν βοτρύων οὔτε τοῦ γλεύκους μεταδιδόντα τοῖς,[1] ὧν πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν ἔτυχε προθύμων. οὔκουν οὐδὲ νομέα ποιμνιων οὐδὲ βουκολίων οὐδὲ μὴν αἰπολίων ἐπιεικῆ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐγνώμονα φήσει τις, ὃς τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος, ὅτε αὐτῷ στέγης καὶ πόας ἐδεῖτο τὰ βοσκήματα, σφόδρα ἐτύγχανε προθύμων τῶν φίλων, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ ξυμποριζόντων καὶ μεταδιδόντων τροφῆς ἀφθόνου καὶ καταγωγίων, ἦρος δὲ οἶμαι καὶ θέρους φανέντος μάλα γενναίως ἐπιλαθόμενον ὧν εὖ πάθοι, οὔτε τοῦ γάλακτος οὔτε τῶν τυρῶν οὔτε ἄλλου του μεταδιδόντα τοῖς[2] ὑφ' ὧν αὐτῷ διεσώθη ἀπολόμενα ἂν ἄλλως τὰ θρέμματα. B C

Ὅστις οὖν λόγους ὁποιουσοῦν τρέφων νέος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνων πολλῶν δεόμενος, τροφῆς δὲ πολλῆς καὶ καθαρᾶς τῆς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων, εἶτα ἀθρόως πάντων στερηθείη[3] ἄρα D

[1] τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.
[2] τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.
[3] στερηθείη Cobet, δεηθείη MSS., Hertlein.

strain of eulogy if only in slight and unskilful phrases, composed in an unlearned and rustic fashion. For you would not say that a farmer showed proper feeling who, when starting to plant his vineyard, begs for cuttings from his neighbours, and presently, when he cultivates his vines, asks for a mattock and then for a hoe, and finally for a stake to which the vine must be tied and which it must lean against, so that it may itself be supported, and the bunches of grapes as they hang may nowhere touch the soil; and then, after obtaining all he asked for, drinks his fill of the pleasant gift of Dionysus, but does not share either the grapes or the must with those whom he found so willing to help him in his husbandry. Just so one would not say that a shepherd or neatherd or even a goatherd was honest and good and right-minded, who in winter, when his flocks need shelter and fodder, met with the utmost consideration from his friends, who helped him to procure many things, and gave him food in abundance, and lodging, and presently when spring and summer appeared, forgot in lordly fashion all those kindnesses, and shared neither his milk nor cheeses nor anything else with those who had saved his beasts for him when they would otherwise have perished.

And now take the case of one who cultivates literature of any sort, and is himself young and therefore needs numerous guides and the abundant food and pure nourishment that is to be obtained from ancient writings, and then suppose

ὑμῖν μικρᾶς δεῖσθαι βοηθείας δοκεῖ ἢ μικρῶν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι ἄξιος ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα συλλαμβανόμενος; καὶ τυχὸν οὐ χρὴ πειρᾶσθαι χάριν ἀποτίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τῶν ἔργων; ἀλλὰ μή ποτε τὸν Θαλῆν ἐκεῖνον, τῶν σοφῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον μιμητέον,[1] οὗ τὰ ἐπαινούμενα ἀκηκόαμεν; ἐρομένου γάρ τινος· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμαθεν ὁπόσον τινὰ χρὴ καταβαλεῖν 12
μισθόν· ὁμολογῶν, ἔφη, τι[2] παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν τὴν ἀξίαν ἡμῖν ἐκτίσεις. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις διδάσκαλος μὲν αὐτὸς οὐ γέγονε, πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν δὲ καὶ ὁτιοῦν συνηνέγκατο, ἀδικοῖτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσιν ὁμολογίας, ἣν δὴ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἀπαιτῶν φαίνεται. εἶεν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν χαρίεν καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ δῶρον· χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὔτε ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ λαβεῖν οὔτε ὑμᾶς δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἡδέως ἂν ἐνοχλήσαιμι. B

Λόγον δὲ ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐθέλω μάλα δή τι[3] ὑμῖν ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνομεν ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀδολεσχίας· τυχὸν δὲ[4] οὐδὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἠκρόασθε ξὺν ἡδονῇ ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ σφόδρα ἀμαθοῦς λόγων, πλάττειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τεχνάζειν εἰδότος, φράζοντος δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἐπίῃ τἀληθές· ὁ δὲ δὴ λόγος σχεδόν τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐστί. φήσουσι γάρ, οἶμαι, πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν μακαρίων C

[1] μιμητέον Petavius adds. [2] τι Horkel, τὸ MSS. Hertlein.
[3] τι Cobet, τινος MSS., Hertlein.
[4] δὲ MSS., Cobet, γὰρ V, M, Hertlein.

that he should be deprived of all these all at once, is it, think you, slight assistance that he is asking? And is it slight payment that he deserves who comes to his aid? But perhaps he ought not even to attempt to make him any return for his zeal and kind actions? Perhaps he ought to imitate the famous Thales, that consummate philosopher, and that answer which we have all heard and which is so much admired? For when someone asked what fee he ought to pay him for knowledge he had acquired, Thales replied "If you let it be known that it was I who taught you, you will amply repay me." Just so one who has not himself been the teacher, but has helped another in any way to gain knowledge, would indeed be wronged if he did not obtain gratitude and that acknowledgement of the gift which even the philosopher seems to have demanded. Well and good. But this gift of hers was both welcome and magnificent. And as for gold and silver I neither asked for them nor, were they in question, should I be willing thus to wear out your patience.

But I wish to tell you a story very well worth your hearing, unless indeed you are already wearied by the length of this garrulous speech. Indeed it may be that you have listened without enjoyment to what has been said so far, seeing that the speaker is a layman and entirely ignorant of rhetoric, and knows neither how to invent nor how to use the writer's craft, but speaks the truth as it occurs to him. And my story is about something almost of the present time. Now many will say, I suppose,

σοφιστῶν ἀναπειθόμενοι, ὅτι ἄρα μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράγματα ἀναλεξάμενος ὡς δή τι σεμνὸν ὑμῖν ἀπαγγέλλω. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ φιλονεικοῦντες πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ἐμὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δόξης ἐθέλοντες ἴσως ἂν εἴποιεν· ἴσασι γὰρ σαφῶς, ὅτι μήτε ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι βούλομαι τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ παρατιθείς, μήτε ἄλλως ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἐκείνοις ἐθέλω· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὄντινα τρόπον τοῦ μεγάλα λέγειν ἐκ παντὸς D
ὀρεγόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τἀκείνων ζηλοῦντας καὶ δι' αἰτίας ἄγουσιν ὡς καθαιροῦντας τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰσχύν. μόνα γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἔργων ζηλωτά φασι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ὁπόσα διὰ μέγεθος ἤδη τισὶν ἄπιστα ἐφάνη, ὁποῖα δή τινα τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐκείνης γυναικός, ἣ μεταβαλοῦσα καθάπερ ῥεῖθρον εὐτελὲς τὸν διὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ποταμὸν ῥέοντα βασίλειά τε ᾠκοδόμησεν ὑπὸ γῆς πάγκαλα καὶ 12
μεθῆκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν χωμάτων αὖθις. ὑπὲρ γὰρ δὴ ταύτης πολὺς μὲν λόγος, ὡς ἐναυμάχει ναυσὶ τρισχιλίαις, καὶ πεζῇ παρετάττετο μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν τριακοσίας ἄγουσα, τό τε ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμει πεντακοσίων σταδίων μικρὸν ἀποδέον, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρύγματα καὶ ἄλλα πολυτελῆ καὶ δαπανηρὰ κατασκευάσματα ἐκείνης ἔργα γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Νίτωκρις δὲ B
ταύτης νεωτέρα καὶ Ῥοδογούνη καὶ Τώμυρις καὶ

persuaded by the accomplished sophists, that I have collected what is trivial and worthless, and relate it to you as though it were of serious import. And probably they will say this, not because they are jealous of my speeches, or because they wish to rob me of the reputation that they may bring. For they well know that I do not desire to be their rival in the art by setting my own speeches against theirs, nor in any other way do I wish to quarrel with them. But since, for some reason or other, they are ambitious of speaking on lofty themes at any cost, they will not tolerate those who have not their ambition, and they reproach them with weakening the power of rhetoric. For they say that only those deeds are to be admired and are worthy of serious treatment and repeated praise which, because of their magnitude, have been thought by some to be incredible, those stories for instance about that famous woman [1] of Assyria who turned aside as though it were an insignificant brook the river [2] that flows through Babylon, and built a gorgeous palace underground, and then turned the stream back again beyond the dykes that she had made. For of her many a tale is told, how she fought a naval battle with three thousand ships, and on land she led into the field of battle three million hoplites, and in Babylon she built a wall very nearly five hundred stades in length, and the moat that surrounds the city and other very costly and expensive edifices were, they tell us, her work. And Nitocris [3] who came later than she, and Rhodogune

[1] Semiramis, Herodotus 1. 184.
[2] The Euphrates.
[3] Herodotus 1. 185; *Oration* 2. 85 C.

μυρίος δή τις ἐπιρρεῖ γυναικῶν ὄχλος ἀνδριζομένων οὐ λίαν εὐπρεπῶς. τινὰς δὲ ἤδη διὰ τὸ κάλλος περιβλέπτους καὶ ὀνομαστὰς γενομένας οὐ σφόδρα εὐτυχῶς, ἐπειδὴ ταραχῆς αἴτιαι καὶ πολέμων μακρῶν ἔθνεσι μυρίοις καὶ ἀνδράσιν, ὅσους ἦν εἰκὸς ἐκ τοσαύτης χώρας ἀθροίζεσθαι, γενέσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὡς μεγάλων αἰτίας ὑμνοῦσι πράξεων. ὅστις δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔχει, καταγέλαστος C
εἶναι δοκεῖ ἅτε οὐκ ἐκπλήττειν οὐδὲ θαυματοποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σφόδρα ἐπιχειρῶν. βούλεσθε οὖν ἐπανερωτῶμεν αὐτούς, εἴ τις αὐτῶν γαμετὴν ἢ θυγατέρα οἱ τοιαύτην εὔχεται γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Πηνελόπην; καίτοι ἐπὶ ταύτης οὐδὲν Ὅμηρος εἰπεῖν ἔσχε πλέον τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς φιλανδρίας καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἑκυρὸν ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὸν παῖδα· ἔμελε δὲ ἄρα οὔτε τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐκείνῃ οὔτε τῶν ποιμνίων· στρατηγίαν δὲ ἢ δημηγορίαν οὐδὲ ὄναρ εἰκὸς[1] ἐκείνῃ παραστῆναί ποτε· ἀλλὰ D
καὶ ὁπότε λέγειν ἐχρῆν εἰς τὰ μειράκια,

ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα

πρᾴως ἐφθέγγετο. καὶ οὐκ ἀπορῶν Ὅμηρος οἶμαι τηλικούτων ἔργων οὐδὲ ὀνομαστῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ταύτην ὕμνησε διαφερόντως· ἐξῆν γοῦν αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀμαζόνος φιλοτίμως πάνυ στρατείαν διηγησαμένῳ τὴν ποίησιν ἅπασαν ἐμπλῆσαι τοιούτων διηγημάτων τέρπειν εὖ μάλα καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τείχους 12

[1] εἰκὸς Reiske adds.

and Tomyris,[1] aye and a crowd of women beyond number who played men's parts in no very seemly fashion occur to my mind. And some of them were conspicuous for their beauty and so became notorious, though it brought them no happiness, but since they were the causes of dissension and long wars among countless nations and as many men as could reasonably be collected from a country of that size, they are celebrated by the orators as having given rise to mighty deeds. And a speaker who has nothing of this sort to relate seems ridiculous because he makes no great effort to astonish his hearers or to introduce the marvellous into his speeches. Now shall we put this question to these orators, whether any one of them would wish to have a wife or daughter of that sort, rather than like Penelope? And yet in her case Homer had no more to tell than of her discretion and her love for her husband and the good care she took of her father-in-law and her son. Evidently she did not concern herself with the fields or the flocks, and as for leading an army or speaking in public, of course she never even dreamed of such a thing. But even when it was necessary for her to speak to the young suitors, "Holding up before her face her shining veil"[2] it was in mild accents that she expressed herself. And it was not because he was short of such great deeds, or of women famous for them, that he sang the praises of Penelope rather than the others. For instance, he could have made it his ambition to tell the story of the Amazon's[3] campaign and have filled all his poetry with tales of that sort, which certainly have a wonderful power to delight and charm. For

[1] Herodotus 1. 205. [2] *Odyssey* 1. 334. [3] Penthesilea.

μὲν αἵρεσιν, καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ναυμαχίαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, τὸν πρὸς τοῖς νεωρίοις πόλεμον, ἀνδρός τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοῦ μάχην ἐπεισάγειν οἴκοθεν διενοεῖτο τῇ ποιήσει καινόν τι λέγειν ἐπιθυμῶν· τοῦτο δὲ εἴπερ ἦν, ὥσπερ οὖν φασι, σεμνότατον, ὀλιγώρως οὕτω παρέλιπε. τί ποτε οὖν ἄν τις αἴτιον λέγοι τοῦ 'κείνην μὲν ἐπαινεῖν προθύμως, τούτων δ' οὐδ'[1] ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μνημονεύειν; ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ τε[2] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὰ συμβαίνει, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς τούτων φιλοτιμίας ὄφελος μὲν οὐδὲ ἕν, συμφοραὶ δὲ ἀνήκεστοι. ἅτε δὴ ὢν οἶμαι σοφὸς καὶ θεῖος ποιητὴς ταύτην ἔκρινεν ἀμείνω καὶ δικαιοτέραν τὴν εὐφημίαν. ἆρ' οὖν ἔτι προσῆκον[3] εὐλαβηθῆναι τοσοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιουμένοις, μή τις ἄρα μικροὺς ὑπολάβῃ καὶ φαύλους;

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν γενναῖον ἐκεῖνον ρήτορα Περικλέα τὸν πάνυ, τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, μάρτυρα ἀγαθὸν ἤδη παρέξομαι. κολάκων γὰρ δή, φασί, ποτὲ τὸν ἄνδρα περιεστὼς δῆμος διελάγχανον τοὺς ἐπαίνους, ὁ μὲν ὅτι τὴν Σάμον ἐξεῖλεν, ἄλλος δὲ ὅτι τὴν Εὔβοιαν, τινὲς δὲ ἤδη τὸ περιπλεῦσαι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μεμνημένοι, τινὲς δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα φιλοτιμίας, σφόδρα ἀγαθὸν πολίτην C

[1] τούτων δ' οὐδ' Hertlein suggests, τούτων δὲ MSS.
[2] πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ τε Hertlein suggests, πολλά τε ἰδίᾳ MSS.
[3] προσῆκον Hertlein suggests, προσῆκεν MSS.

as to the taking of the wall and the siege, and that battle near the ships which in some respects seems to have resembled a sea-fight, and then the fight of the hero and the river,[1] he did not bring them into his poem with the desire to relate something new and strange of his own invention. And even though this fight was, as they say, most marvellous, he neglected and passed over the marvellous as we see. What reason then can anyone give for his praising Penelope so enthusiastically and making not the slightest allusion to those famous women? Because by reason of her virtue and discretion many blessings have been gained for mankind, both for individuals and for the common weal, whereas from the ambition of those others there has arisen no benefit whatever, but incurable calamities. And so, as he was, I think, a wise and inspired poet, he decided that to praise Penelope was better and more just. And since I adopt so great a guide, is it fitting that I should be afraid lest some person think me trivial or inferior?

But it is indeed a noble witness that I shall now bring forward, that splendid orator Pericles, the renowned, the Olympian. It is said[2] that once a crowd of flatterers surrounded him and were distributing his praises among them, one telling how he had reduced Samos,[3] another how he had recovered Euboea,[4] some how he had sailed round the Peloponnesus, while others spoke of his enactments, or of his rivalry with Cimon, who was reputed to be a most excellent citizen and a

[1] Achilles and the Scamander; *Iliad* 21. 234 foll., *Oration* 2. 60 c.

[2] Julian tells, incorrectly, the anecdote in Plutarch, *Pericles* 38.

[3] 440 B.C.

[4] 445 B.C.

καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶναι δόξαντα γενναῖον. ὁ δὲ D
τούτοις μὲν οὔτε ἀχθόμενος οὔτε γανύμενος δῆλος ἦν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἠξίου τῶν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον χρόνον[1] ἐπιτροπεύσας τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὐδενὶ θανάτου γέγονεν αἴτιος, οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον μέλαν τῶν πολιτῶν τις περιβαλόμενος Περικλέα γενέσθαι ταύτης αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔφη. ἄλλου του, πρὸς φιλίου Διός, δοκοῦμεν ὑμῖν μάρτυρος δεῖσθαι, ὅτι μέγιστον
ἀρετῆς σημεῖον καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐπαίνων 1
ἄξιον τὸ μηδένα κτεῖναι τῶν πολιτῶν μηδὲ ἀφελέσθαι τὰ χρήματα μηδὲ ἀδίκῳ φυγῇ περιβαλεῖν; ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συμφορὰς αὑτὸν ἀντιτάξας καθάπερ ἰατρὸς γενναῖος οὐδαμῶς ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβεν αὑτῷ τὸ μηδενὶ νοσήματος αἰτίῳ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὴ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν ἰῷτο καὶ θεραπεύοι, οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς αὑτοῦ τέχνης ἔργον ὑπέλαβεν, ἆρα ὑμῖν δοκεῖ τῶν ἴσων
ἐπαίνων ἐν δίκῃ τυγχάνειν; καὶ οὐδὲν προτιμή- B
σομεν οὔτε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἔξεστι μὲν αὐτῇ δρᾶν ὅ,τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ, θέλει δὲ ἅπασι τἀγαθά; τοῦτο ἐγὼ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἐπαίνου ποιοῦμαι, οὐκ ἀπορῶν ἄλλων θαυμασίων εἶναι δοκούντων καὶ λαμπρῶν διηγημάτων.

Εἰ γὰρ δή τις τὴν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπὴν ὑποπτεύσειεν ὡς ματαίαν οὖσαν προσποίησιν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν κενὴν καὶ αὐθάδη, οὔτι που καὶ τὴν ἔναγχος ἐπιδημίαν γενομένην αὐτῇ τὴν εἰς τὴν

[1] χρόνον Cobet adds.

distinguished general. But Pericles gave no sign either of annoyance or exultation, and there was but one thing in all his political career for which he claimed to deserve praise, that, though he had governed the Athenian people for so long, he had been responsible for no man's death, and no citizen when he put on black clothes had ever said that Pericles was the cause of his misfortune. Now, by Zeus the god of friendship, do you think I need any further witness to testify that the greatest proof of virtue and one better worth praise than all the rest put together is not to have caused the death of any citizen, or to have taken his money from him, or involved him in unjust exile? But he who like a good physician tries to ward off such calamities as these, and by no means thinks that it is enough for him not to cause anyone to contract a disease, but unless he cures and cares for everyone as far as he can, considers that his work is unworthy of his skill, do you think that in justice such a one ought to receive no higher praise than Pericles? And shall we not hold in higher honour her character and that authority which enables her to do what she will, since what she wills is the good of all? For this I make the sum and substance of my whole encomium, though I do not lack other narratives such as are commonly held to be marvellous and splendid.

For if anyone should suspect that my silence about the rest is vain affectation and empty and insolent pretension, this at least he will not suspect, that the visit which she lately made to Rome,[1] when the Emperor was on his campaign and

[1] 357 A.D.

Ῥώμην, ὁπότε ἐστρατεύετο βασιλεὺς ζεύγμασι καὶ C
ναυσὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβὰς ἄγχου τῶν Γαλατίας ὁρίων, ψευδῆ καὶ πεπλασμένην ἄλλως ὑποπτεύσει. ἐξῆν δὴ οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, διηγουμένῳ ταῦτα τοῦ δήμου μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας, ὅπως αὐτὴν ὑπεδέχετο σὺν χαρμονῇ, προθύμως ὑπαντῶντες καὶ δεξιούμενοι καθάπερ νόμος βασιλίδα, καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ὁπόσα τε ἔνειμε
τῶν φυλῶν τοῖς ἐπιστάταις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχαις D
τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τῶν τοιούτων οὔτε ἔδοξέ ποτε ζηλωτὸν οὐδέν, οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλω πρὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον. καίτοι με[1] οὐ λέληθεν ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλευθέριος δαπάνη μετέχουσά τινος ἀρετῆς· ἀλλ' οἶμαι κρεῖττον ἐπιείκειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῆς λέγων πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ
ἄλλους, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' 1
ἐμοὶ πραχθέντα παρεῖχον μάρτυρα. εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ζηλοῦν ἐπιχειρήσειαν, πολλοὺς ἔχει τε ἤδη καὶ ἕξει τοὺς ἐπαινέτας.

[1] με Cobet adds.

had crossed the Rhine by bridges of boats near the frontiers of Galatia, is a false and vain invention. I could indeed very properly have given an account of this visit, and described how the people and the senate welcomed her with rejoicings and went to meet her with enthusiasm, and received her as is their custom to receive an Empress, and told the amount of the expenditure, how generous and splendid it was, and the costliness of the preparations, and reckoned up the sums she distributed to the presidents of the tribes and the centurions of the people. But nothing of that sort has ever seemed to me worth while, nor do I wish to praise wealth before virtue. And yet I am aware that the generous spending of money implies a sort of virtue. Nevertheless I rate more highly goodness and temperance and wisdom and all those other qualities of hers that I have described, bringing before you as witnesses not only many others but myself as well and all that she did for me. Now if only others also try to emulate my proper feeling, there are and there will be many to sing her praises.

ORATION IV

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

In the fourth century A.D. poetry was practically extinct, and hymns to the gods were almost always written in prose. Julian's Fourth Oration is, according to the definition of the rhetorician Menander, a φυσικὸς ὕμνος, a hymn that describes the physical qualities of a god. Julian was an uncritical disciple of the later Neo-Platonic school, and apparently reproduces without any important modification the doctrines of its chief representative, the Syrian Iamblichus, with whom begins the decadence of Neo-Platonism as a philosophy. Oriental superstition took the place of the severe spiritualism of Plotinus and his followers, and a philosophy that had been from the first markedly religious, is now expounded by theurgists and the devotees of strange Oriental cults. It is Mithras the Persian sun-god, rather than Apollo, whom Julian identifies with his "intellectual god" Helios, and Apollo plays a minor part among his manifestations. Mithras worship, which Tertullian called "a Satanic plagiarism of Christianity," because in certain of its rites it recalled the sacraments of the Christian church, first made its appearance among the Romans in the first century B.C.[1] Less

[1] Plutarch, *Pompeius* 24. For a full description of the origin and spread of Mithraism see Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 1896, 1899, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, 1902, and *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 1909 (English translation by G. Showerman, 1911).

hospitably received at first than the cults of Isis and Serapis and the Great Mother of Pessinus, it gradually overpowered them and finally dominated the whole Roman Empire, though it was never welcomed by the Hellenes. For the Romans it supplied the ideals of purity, devotion and self-control which the other cults had lacked. The worshippers of Mithras were taught to contend against the powers of evil, submitted themselves to a severe moral discipline, and their reward after death was to become as pure as the gods to whom they ascend. "If Christianity," says Renan, "had been checked in its growth by some deadly disease, the world would have become Mithraic." Julian, like the Emperor Commodus in the second century, had no doubt been initiated into the Mysteries of Mithras, and the severe discipline of the cult was profoundly attractive to one who had been estranged by early associations from the very similar teaching of the Christians.

Julian followed Plotinus and Iamblichus in making the supreme principle the One (ἕν) or the Good (τὸ ἀγαθὸν) which presides over the intelligible world (νοητὸς κόσμος), where rule Plato's Ideas, now called the intelligible gods (νοητοὶ θεοί). Iamblichus had imported into the Neo-Platonic system the intermediary world of intellectual gods (νοεροὶ θεοί). On them Helios-Mithras, their supreme god and centre, bestows the intelligence and creative and unifying forces that he has received from his transcendental counterpart among the intelligible gods. The third member of the triad is the world of sense-perception governed by the sun, the visible counterpart of Helios. What distinguishes Julian's

triad[1] from other Neo-Platonic triads is this hierarchy of three suns in the three worlds: and further, the importance that he gives to the intermediary world, the abode of Helios-Mithras. He pays little attention to the remote intelligible world and devotes his exposition to Helios, the intellectual god, and the visible sun. Helios is the link that relates the three members of the triad. His "middleness" (μεσότης) is not only local: he is in every possible sense the mediator and unifier. μεσότης is the Aristotelian word for the "mean," but there is no evidence that it was used with the active sense of mediation before Julian. A passage in Plutarch however seems to indicate that the "middleness" of the sun was a Persian doctrine: "The principle of good most nearly resembles light, and the principle of evil darkness, and between both is Mithras; therefore the Persians called Mithras the Mediator" (μεσίτης).[2] Naville has pointed out the resemblance between the sun as mediator and the Christian Logos, which Julian may have had in mind. Julian's system results in a practically monotheistic worship of Helios, and here he probably parts company with Iamblichus.

But though deeply influenced by Mithraism, Julian was attempting to revive the pagan gods, and if he could not, in the fourth century, restore the ancient faith in the gods of Homer he nevertheless could not omit from his creed the numerous deities whose temples and altars he had rebuilt. Here he took advantage of the identification of Greek

[1] On Julian's triad cf. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat et la philosophie du polythéisme*, Paris, 1877.
[2] *Concerning Isis and Osiris* 46.

Roman, and Oriental deities which had been going on for centuries. The old names, endeared by the associations of literature, could be retained without endangering the supremacy of Helios. Julian identifies Zeus, Helios, Hades, Oceanus and the Egyptian Serapis. But the omnipotent Zeus of Greek mythology is now a creative force which works with Helios and has no separate existence. Tradition had made Athene the child of Zeus, but Julian regards her as the manifestation of the intelligent forethought of Helios. Dionysus is the vehicle of his fairest thoughts, and Aphrodite a principle that emanates from him. He contrives that all the more important gods of Greece, Egypt and Persia shall play their parts as manifestations of Helios. The lesser gods are mediating demons as well as forces. His aim was to provide the Hellenic counterpart of the positive revealed religion of Christianity. Hence his insistence on the inspiration of Homer, Hesiod, and Plato, and his statement[1] that the allegorical interpretations of the mysteries are not mere hypotheses, whereas the doctrines of the astronomers deserve no higher title.

The Oration is dedicated to his friend and comrade in arms Sallust who is probably identical with the Neo-Platonic philosopher, of the school of Iamblichus, who wrote about 360 the treatise *On the Gods and the World.* Cumont calls this "the official catechism of the Pagan empire," and Wilamowitz regards it as the positive complement of Julian's pamphlet *Against the Christians.* Julian's Eighth Oration is a discourse of consolation, παραμυθητικὸς, for the departure of Sallust when Constantius recalled him from Gaul in 358.

[1] 148 B.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΗΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΝ

Προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε μά- B
λιστα μὲν ἅπασιν,

ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει,[1]

καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ μετείληφεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἐμαυτῷ· καὶ γάρ εἰμι τοῦ βασιλέως ὀπαδὸς Ἡλίου. τούτου C
δὲ ἔχω μὲν οἴκοι παρ' ἐμαυτῷ τὰς πίστεις ἀκριβεστέρας· ὃ δέ μοι θέμις εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀνεμέσητον, ἐντέτηκέ μοι δεινὸς ἐκ παίδων τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόθος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς οὕτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον ἐκ παιδαρίου κομιδῇ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξιστάμην ὥστε οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀτενὲς ὁρᾶν ἐπεθύμουν, ἀλλὰ καί, εἴ ποτε νύκτωρ ἀνεφέλου καὶ καθαρᾶς αἰθρίας οὔσης προέλθοιμι, πάντα ἀθρόως ἀφεὶς D
τοῖς οὐρανίοις προσεῖχον κάλλεσιν, οὐκέτι ξυνιεὶς οὐδὲν εἴ τις λέγοι τι πρός με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὅ τι πράττοιμι προσέχων. ἐδόκουν τε περιεργότερον ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πολυπράγμων τις εἶναι, καὶ

[1] *Iliad* 17. 447.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS DEDICATED TO SALLUST

What I am now about to say I consider to be of the greatest importance for all things "That breathe and move upon the earth," and have a share in existence and a reasoning soul [1] and intelligence, but above all others it is of importance to myself. For I am a follower of King Helios. And of this fact I possess within me, known to myself alone, proofs more certain than I can give.[2] But this at least I am permitted to say without sacrilege, that from my childhood an extraordinary longing for the rays of the god penetrated deep into my soul; and from my earliest years my mind was so completely swayed by the light that illumines the heavens that not only did I desire to gaze intently at the sun, but whenever I walked abroad in the night season, when the firmament was clear and cloudless, I abandoned all else without exception and gave myself up to the beauties of the heavens; nor did I understand what anyone might say to me, nor heed what I was doing myself. I was considered to be over-curious about these matters

[1] As opposed to the unreasoning soul, ἄλογος ψυχή, that is in animals other than man. Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and Porphyry allowed some form of soul to plants, but this was denied by Iamblichus, Julian, and Sallust.

[2] He refers to his initiation into the cult of Mithras.

μέ τις ἤδη ἀστρόμαντιν ὑπέλαβεν ἄρτι γενειήτην. καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔποτε τοιαύτη βίβλος εἰς ἐμὰς ἀφῖκτο χεῖρας, οὐδὲ ἠπιστάμην ὅ τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ χρῆμά πω τότε.[1] *ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα ἐγώ φημι, μείζω ἔχων εἰπεῖν, εἰ φράσαιμι ὅπως ἐφρόνουν τὸ τηνικαῦτα περὶ θεῶν; λήθη δὲ ἔστω τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνου. τοῦ*[2] *δὲ ὅτι με τὸ οὐράνιον πάντη περιήστραπτε φῶς ἤγειρέ τε καὶ παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὴν ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ κίνησιν ξυνεῖδον, οὐδενί πω ξυντυχὼν τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα* B *φιλοσοφούντων, ἔστω μοι τὰ ῥηθέντα σημεῖα. ζηλῶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τῆς εὐποτμίας καὶ εἴ τῳ τὸ σῶμα παρέσχε θεὸς ἐξ ἱεροῦ καὶ προφητικοῦ συμπαγὲν σπέρματος ἀναλαβόντι σοφίας ἀνοῖξαι θησαυρούς· οὐκ ἀτιμάζω δὲ ταύτην, ἧς ἠξιώθην αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε μερίδος, ἐν τῷ κρατοῦντι καὶ βασιλεύοντι τῆς γῆς γένει τοῖς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν χρόνοις γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ἡγοῦμαι,*[3] *εἴπερ* C *χρὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς σοφοῖς, ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τοῦτον κοινὸν πατέρα. λέγεται γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾶν καὶ ἥλιος,*[4] *ψυχὰς οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν σπείρων*[5] *εἰς γῆν,*[6] *ἐφ' ὅ τι δὲ χρῆμα δηλοῦσιν*

(margin: 13)

[1] *πω τότε* Cobet, *πώποτε* MSS, Hertlein.
[2] *τοῦ* Reiske, *τὸ* MSS, Hertlein.
[3] *ἡγοῦμαι* Petavius, *ἡγοῦμαι κοινότερον μὲν* MSS, Hertlein.
[4] Aristotle, *Physics* 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 151 D.
[5] *σπείρων* Hertlein suggests, *σπείρειν* MSS.
[6] Plato, *Timaeus* 42 D.

and to pay too much attention to them, and people went so far as to regard me as an astrologer when my beard had only just begun to grow. And yet, I call heaven to witness, never had a book on this subject come into my hands; nor did I as yet even know what that science was. But why do I mention this, when I have more important things to tell, if I should relate how, in those days, I thought about the gods? However let that darkness [1] be buried in oblivion. But let what I have said bear witness to this fact, that the heavenly light shone all about me, and that it roused and urged me on to its contemplation, so that even then I recognised of myself that the movement of the moon was in the opposite direction to the universe, though as yet I had met no one of those who are wise in these matters. Now for my part I envy the good fortune of any man to whom the god has granted to inherit a body built of the seed of holy and inspired ancestors, so that he can unlock the treasures of wisdom; nor do I despise that lot with which I was myself endowed by the god Helios, that I should be born of a house that rules and governs the world in my time; but further, I regard this god, if we may believe the wise, as the common father of all mankind.[2] For it is said with truth that man and the sun together beget man, and that the god sows this earth with souls which proceed not from himself alone but from the other gods also; and for what purpose, the souls reveal by

[1] When he was still a professed Christian.

[2] *i.e.* not only prophets and emperors but all men are related to Helios.

αὗται τοῖς βίοις, οὓς προαιροῦνται. κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν, εἴ τῳ ξυνηνέχθη καὶ πρὸ τριγονίας ἀπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ προπατόρων ἐφεξῆς τῷ θεῷ δουλεῦσαι, μεμπτὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅστις, ἐπεγνωκὼς ἑαυτὸν D
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε θεράποντα φύσει, μόνος ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ ξὺν ὀλίγοις αὑτὸν ἐπιδίδωσι τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου.

Φέρε οὖν, ὅπως ἂν οἷοί τε ὦμεν, ὑμνήσωμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἣν ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις ἐπετησίοις ἀγάλλει θυσίαις. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, εὖ οἶδα, χαλεπὸν καὶ τὸ ξυνεῖναι περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ὁπόσος τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἀφανὴς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λογισαμένῳ, 1
φράσαι δὲ ἴσως ἀδύνατον, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἔλαττον ἐθελήσειέ τις. ἐφικέσθαι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς ἀξίαν εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τῶν ἁπάντων οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο, τοῦ μετρίου δὲ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι φράζειν δυνάμεως. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τούτου παρασταίη βοηθὸς ὅ τε λόγιος[1] Ἑρμῆς ξὺν ταῖς Μούσαις ὅ τε Μουσηγέτης Ἀπόλλων,[2] ἐπεὶ καὶ B
αὐτῷ προσήκει τῶν λόγων, καὶ δοῖεν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὁπόσα τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα λέγεσθαί τε καὶ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῶν ἐπαίνων; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅθεν προῆλθε καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν διελθόντες, ὁπόσαι φανεραὶ ὅσαι τ' ἀφανεῖς, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσεως, ἣν κατὰ πάντας ποιεῖται τοὺς κόσμους, οὐ παντά-

[1] cf. *Oration* 7. 237 c. [2] cf. 144 A, 149 c.

the kind of lives that they select. Now far the best thing is when anyone has the fortune to have inherited the service of the god, even before the third generation, from a long and unbroken line of ancestors; yet it is not a thing to be disparaged when anyone, recognising that he is by nature intended to be the servant of Helios, either alone of all men, or in company with but few, devotes himself to the service of his master.

Come then, let me celebrate, as best I may, his festival which the Imperial city[1] adorns with annual sacrifices.[2] Now it is hard, as I well know, merely to comprehend how great is the Invisible, if one judge by his visible self,[3] and to tell it is perhaps impossible, even though one should consent to fall short of what is his due. For well I know that no one in the world could attain to a description that would be worthy of him, and not to fail of a certain measure of success in his praises is the greatest height to which human beings can attain in the power of utterance. But as for me, may Hermes, the god of eloquence, stand by my side to aid me, and the Muses also and Apollo, the leader of the Muses, since he too has oratory for his province, and may they grant that I utter only what the gods approve that men should say and believe about them. What, then, shall be the manner of my praise? Or is it not evident that if I describe his substance and his origin, and his powers and energies, both visible and invisible, and the gift of blessings which he bestows throughout all the worlds,[4] I shall compose an

[1] Rome. [2] At the beginning of January; cf. 156 c.

[3] Julian distinguishes the visible sun from his archetype, the offspring of the Good.

[4] *i.e.* the intelligible world, νοητός, comprehended only by pure reason; the intellectual, νοερός, endowed with intelli-

πασιν ἀπᾴδοντα ποιησόμεθα τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἐγκώμια; ἀρκτέον δὲ ἐνθένδε.

Ὁ θεῖος οὗτος καὶ πάγκαλος κόσμος ἀπ᾽ ἄκρας ἁψῖδος οὐρανοῦ μέχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλύτου συνεχόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ἐξ ἀιδίου γέγονεν ἀγέννητος[1] ἔς τε τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον ἀίδιος, οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου του φρουρούμενος ἢ προσεχῶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος, οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ἀκτὶς ἀελίου,[2] βαθμῷ δὲ ὥσπερ δευτέρῳ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου, πρεσβυτέρως δὲ ἔτι διὰ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα, περὶ ὃν πάντα ἐστίν. οὗτος τοίνυν, εἴτε τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ νοῦ καλεῖν αὐτὸν θέμις εἴτε ἰδέαν τῶν ὄντων, ὃ δή φημι τὸ νοητὸν ξύμπαν, εἴτε ἕν, ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἓν δοκεῖ πως πρεσβύτατον, εἴτε ὃ Πλάτων εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν τἀγαθόν, αὕτη δὴ οὖν ἡ μονοειδὴς τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐξηγουμένη κάλλους τε καὶ τελειότητος ἑνώσεώς τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμηχάνου, κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ μένουσαν πρωτουργὸν οὐσίαν μέσον ἐκ μέσων τῶν νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν αἰτιῶν Ἥλιον θεὸν μέγιστον ἀνέφηνεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ· καθάπερ καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος οἴεται Πλάτων, "Τοῦτον τοίνυν," λέγων, "ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ

[1] ἀγέννητος Hertlein suggests, ἀγεννήτως MSS.
[2] Pindar *fr.* 107, and Sophocles, *Antigone* 100 ἀκτὶς ἀελίου.

encomium not wholly displeasing to the god? With these, then, let me begin.

This divine and wholly beautiful universe, from the highest vault of heaven to the lowest limit of the earth, is held together by the continuous providence of the god, has existed from eternity ungenerated, is imperishable for all time to come, and is guarded immediately by nothing else than the Fifth Substance [1] whose culmination is the beams of the sun; and in the second and higher degree, so to speak, by the intelligible world; but in a still loftier sense it is guarded by the King of the whole universe, who is the centre of all things that exist. He, therefore, whether it is right to call him the Supra-Intelligible, or the Idea of Being, and by Being I mean the whole intelligible region, or the One, since the One seems somehow to be prior to all the rest, or, to use Plato's name for him, the Good; at any rate this uncompounded cause of the whole reveals to all existence beauty, and perfection, and oneness, and irresistible power; and in virtue of the primal creative substance that abides in it, produced, as middle among the middle and intellectual, creative causes, Helios the most mighty god, proceeding from itself and in all things like unto itself. Even so the divine Plato believed, when he writes, "Therefore (said I) when I spoke of this,

gence; and thirdly the world of sense-perception αἰσθητός. The first of these worlds the Neo-Platonists took over from Plato, *Republic* 508 foll.; the second was invented by Iamblichus.

[1] Though Aristotle did not use this phrase, it was his theory of a fifth element superior to the other four, called by him "aether" or "first element," *De Coelo* 1. 3 270 B, that suggested to Iamblichus the notion of a fifth substance or element; cf. *Theologumena Arithmeticae* 35, 22 Ast, where he calls the fifth element "aether."

ἀγαθοῦ ἔκγονον, ὃν τἀγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ, ὅτιπερ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρός τε νοῦν καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τοῦτο τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ὁρατῷ πρός τε ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα."[1] ἔχει μὲν δὴ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ταύτην οἶμαι τὴν ἀναλογίαν πρὸς τὸ ὁρατόν, ἥνπερ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἀλήθεια.[2] αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ξύμπας, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου τῆς ἰδέας B
τἀγαθοῦ γεγονὼς ἔκγονος, ὑποστὰς αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν μόνιμον οὐσίαν ἐξ ἀιδίου καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς παρεδέξατο δυναστείαν, ὧν τἀγαθόν ἐστι τοῖς νοητοῖς αἴτιον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς τοῖς νοεροῖς νέμων. ἔστι δ' αἴτιον οἶμαι τἀγαθὸν τοῖς νοητοῖς θεοῖς κάλλους, οὐσίας, τελειότητος, ἑνώσεως, συνέχον αὐτὰ καὶ περιλάμπον ἀγαθοειδεῖ δυνάμει· ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς Ἥλιος δίδωσιν, ἄρχειν C
καὶ βασιλεύειν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τἀγαθοῦ τεταγμένος, εἰ καὶ συμπροῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ συνυπέστησαν, ὅπως οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθοειδὴς αἰτία προκαθηγουμένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν ἅπαντα κατὰ νοῦν εὐθύνῃ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτος ὁ φαινόμενος οὑτοσὶ δίσκος ἐναργῶς αἴτιός ἐστι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ ὅσων ἔφαμεν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς τὸν μέγαν

[1] *Republic* 508 B.
[2] ἀλήθεια Hertlein suggests, ἀλήθεια MSS.

understand that I meant the offspring of the Good which the Good begat in his own likeness, and that what the Good is in relation to pure reason and its objects in the intelligible world, such is the sun in the visible world in relation to sight and its objects." Accordingly his light has the same relation to the visible world as truth has to the intelligible world. And he himself as a whole, since he is the son of what is first and greatest, namely, the Idea of the Good, and subsists from eternity in the region of its abiding substance, has received also the dominion among the intellectual gods, and himself dispenses to the intellectual gods those things of which the Good is the cause for the intelligible gods. Now the Good is, I suppose, the cause for the intelligible gods of beauty, existence, perfection, and oneness, connecting these and illuminating them with a power that works for good. These accordingly Helios bestows on the intellectual gods also, since he has been appointed by the Good to rule and govern them, even though they came forth and came into being together with him, and this was, I suppose, in order that the cause which resembles the Good may guide the intellectual gods to blessings for them all, and may regulate all things according to pure reason.

But this visible disc also, third[1] in rank, is clearly, for the objects of sense-perception the cause of preservation, and this visible Helios[2] is the cause

[1] Julian conceives of the sun in three ways; first as transcendental, in which form he is indistinguishable from the Good in the intelligible world, secondly as Helios-Mithras, ruler of the intellectual gods, thirdly as the visible sun.

[2] 133 D–134 A is a digression on the light of the sun.

Ἥλιον, τοσούτων αἴτιος[1] καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος ὅδε τοῖς φανεροῖς. τούτων δ' ἐναργεῖς αἱ πίστεις ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἀφανῆ σκοποῦντι.[2] φέρε δὴ D πρῶτον αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς οὐκ εἶδός ἐστιν ἀσώματόν τι θεῖον τοῦ κατ' ἐνέργειαν διαφανοῦς; αὐτὸ δὲ ὅ, τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ διαφανές, πᾶσι μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν συνυποκείμενον τοῖς στοιχείοις καὶ ὂν αὐτῶν προσεχὲς εἶδος, οὐ σωματοειδὲς οὐδὲ συμμιγνύμενον οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας σώματι προσιέμενον ποιότητας. οὔκουν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ θέρμην ἐρεῖς,[3] οὐ τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ ψυχρότητα, οὐ τὸ σκληρόν, οὐ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀποδώσεις, οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἁφὴν 153 διαφορῶν, οὔκουν οὐδὲ γεῦσιν οὐδὲ ὀδμήν, ὄψει δὲ μόνον ὑποπίπτει πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ τοιαύτη φύσις ἀγομένη. τὸ δὲ φῶς εἶδός ἐστι ταύτης οἷον ὕλης ὑπεστρωμένης καὶ παρεκτεινομένης τοῖς σώμασιν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντος ἀσωμάτου ἀκρότης ἂν εἴη τις καὶ ὥσπερ ἄνθος ἀκτῖνες. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν Φοινίκων δόξα, σοφῶν τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐπιστημόνων, ἄχραντον εἶναι ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθαροῦ νοῦ τὴν ἁπανταχῇ B προϊοῦσαν αὐγὴν ἔφη· οὐκ ἀπᾴδει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος, εἴπερ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀσώματον, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πηγὴν ὑπολάβοι σῶμα, νοῦ δὲ ἐνέργειαν ἄχραντον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἕδραν ἐλλαμπομένην, ἣ

[1] After τοσούτων Hertlein suggests αἴτιος.
[2] cf. 138 B.
[3] Aristotle, *De Anima* 418 A.

for the visible gods[1] of just as many blessings as we said mighty Helios bestows on the intellectual gods. And of this there are clear proofs for one who studies the unseen world in the light of things seen. For in the first place, is not light itself a sort of incorporeal and divine form of the transparent in a state of activity? And as for the transparent itself, whatever it is, since it is the underlying basis, so to speak, of all the elements, and is a form peculiarly belonging to them, it is not like the corporeal or compounded, nor does it admit qualities peculiar to corporeal substance.[2] You will not therefore say that heat is a property of the transparent, or its opposite cold, nor will you assign to it hardness or softness or any other of the various attributes connected with touch or taste or smell; but a nature of this sort is obvious to sight alone, since it is brought into activity by light. And light is a form of this substance, so to speak, which is the substratum of and coextensive with the heavenly bodies. And of light, itself incorporeal, the culmination and flower, so to speak, is the sun's rays. Now the doctrine of the Phoenicians, who were wise and learned in sacred lore, declared that the rays of light everywhere diffused are the undefiled incarnation of pure mind. And in harmony with this is our theory, seeing that light itself is incorporeal, if one should regard its fountainhead, not as corporeal, but as the undefiled activity of mind[3] pouring light into its own abode: and this is

[1] *i.e.* the stars.

[2] *De Anima* 419 A; Aristotle there says that light is the actualisation or positive determination of the transparent medium. Julian echoes the whole passage.

[3] Mind, νοῦς, is here identified with Helios; cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 19. 9. Sol mundi mens est, "the sun is the

τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ τὸ μέσον εἴληχεν, ὅθεν ἐπιλάμπουσα πάσης μὲν εὐτονίας πληροῖ τοὺς οὐρανίους κύκλους, πάντα δὲ περιλάμπει θείῳ καὶ ἀχράντῳ φωτί. τὰ μέντοι ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργα προϊόντα παρ' αὐτοῦ μετρίως γε[1] ἡμῖν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴρηται[2] καὶ ῥηθήσεται μετ' ὀλίγον. ὅσα C
δὲ ὁρῶμεν αὐτῇ πρῶτον ὄψει ὄνομα μόνον ἐστὶν ἔργου τητώμενον, εἰ μὴ προσλάβοι τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς ἡγεμονικὴν βοήθειαν. ὁρατὸν δὲ ὅλως εἴη ἂν τί μὴ φωτὶ πρῶτον ὥσπερ ὕλη τεχνίτῃ προσαχθέν, ἵν' οἶμαι τὸ εἶδος δέξηται; καὶ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον ἁπλῶς οὑτωσὶ κεχυμένον ἔστι μὲν χρυσίον, οὐ μὴν ἄγαλμα οὐδὲ εἰκών, πρὶν ἂν ὁ τεχνίτης αὐτῷ περιθῇ τὴν μορφήν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅσα πέφυκεν ὁρᾶσθαι μὴ ξὺν φωτὶ τοῖς ὁρῶσι προσαγόμενα D
τοῦ ὁρατὰ εἶναι παντάπασιν ἐστέρηται. διδοὺς οὖν τοῖς τε ὁρῶσι τὸ ὁρᾶν τοῖς τε ὁρωμένοις τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι δύο φύσεις ἐνεργείᾳ μιᾷ τελειοῖ, ὄψιν καὶ ὁρατόν· αἱ δὲ τελειότητες εἴδη τέ εἰσι καὶ οὐσία.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως λεπτότερον· ᾧ δὲ παρακολουθοῦμεν ξύμπαντες, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται, φιλόσοφοι καὶ λόγιοι, τίνα ἐν τῷ παντὶ δύναμιν ἀνίσχων ἔχει καὶ καταδυόμενος ὁ θεός; νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἐργάζεται καὶ μεθίστησι φανερῶς καὶ τρέπει τὸ πᾶν. καίτοι τίνι τοῦτο 135

[1] γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS. [2] 133 B.

assigned to the middle of the whole firmament, whence it sheds its rays and fills the heavenly spheres with vigour of every kind and illumines all things with light divine and undefiled. Now the activities proceeding from it and exercised among the gods have been, in some measure at least, described by me a little earlier and will shortly be further spoken of. But all that we see merely with the sight at first is a name only, deprived of activity, unless we add thereto the guidance and aid of light. For what, speaking generally, could be seen, were it not first brought into touch with light in order that, I suppose, it may receive a form, as matter is brought under the hand of a craftsman? And indeed molten gold in the rough is simply gold, and not yet a statue or an image, until the craftsman give it its proper shape. So too all the objects of sight, unless they are brought under the eyes of the beholder together with light, are altogether deprived of visibility. Accordingly by giving the power of sight to those who see, and the power of being seen to the objects of sight, it brings to perfection, by means of a single activity, two faculties, namely vision and visibility.[1] And in forms and substance are expressed its perfecting powers.

However, this is perhaps somewhat subtle; but as for that guide whom we all follow, ignorant and unlearned, philosophers and rhetoricians, what power in the universe has this god when he rises and sets? Night and day he creates, and before our eyes changes and sways the universe. But to which of

mind of the universe"; Iamblichus, *Protrepticus* 21, 115; Ammianus Marcellinus, 21. 1. 11.

[1] Julian echoes Plato, *Republic* 507, 508.

τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ὑπάρχει; πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐκ τούτων ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν θειοτέρων πιστεύομεν, ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφανῆ καὶ θεῖα νοερῶν θεῶν γένη τῆς ἀγαθοειδοῦς ἀποπληροῦται παρ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, ᾧ πᾶς μὲν ὑπείκει χορὸς ἀστέρων, ἕπεται δὲ ἡ γένεσις ὑπὸ τῆς τούτου κυβερνωμένη προμηθείας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλάνητες[1] B ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ βασιλέα χορεύοντες ἔν τισιν ὡρισμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν διαστήμασιν ἁρμοδιώτατα φέρονται κύκλῳ, στηριγμούς τινας ποιούμενοι καὶ πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω πορείαν, ὡς οἱ τῆς σφαιρικῆς ἐπιστήμονες θεωρίας ὀνομάζουσι τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς φαινόμενα, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς σελήνης αὔξεται καὶ λήγει φῶς, πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἡλίου πάσχον, πᾶσί που δῆλον. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκότως καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῶν σωμάτων ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς διακόσμησιν ὑπολαμβάνομεν C ἀνάλογον ἔχειν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τάξει;

Λάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἁπάντων τὸ μὲν τελεσιουργὸν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀποφαίνειν ὁρᾶν τὰ ὁρατικά· τελειοῖ γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ φωτός· τὸ δὲ δημιουργικὸν καὶ γόνιμον[2] ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ξύμπαν μεταβολῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐν ἑνὶ πάντων συνεκτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰς κινήσεις πρὸς ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφωνίας, τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐξ αὐτοῦ[3] μέσου, τὸ δὲ τοῖς νοεροῖς αὐτὸν ἐνιδρῦσθαι βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πλανωμένοις μέσης τάξεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περί τινα D

[1] cf. 146 D. [2] 157 C.
[3] αὐτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἑαυτοῦ MSS.

the other heavenly bodies does this power belong? How then can we now fail to believe, in view of this, in respect also to things more divine that the invisible and divine tribes of intellectual gods above the heavens are filled with power that works for good by him, even by him to whom the whole band of the heavenly bodies yields place, and whom all generated things follow, piloted by his providence? For that the planets dance about him as their king, in certain intervals, fixed in relation to him, and revolve in a circle with perfect accord, making certain halts, and pursuing to and fro their orbit,[1] as those who are learned in the study of the spheres call their visible motions; and that the light of the moon waxes and wanes varying in proportion to its distance from the sun, is, I think, clear to all. Then is it not natural that we should suppose that the more venerable ordering of bodies among the intellectual gods corresponds to this arrangement?

Let us therefore comprehend, out of all his functions, first his power to perfect, from the fact that he makes visible the objects of sight in the universe, for through his light he perfects them; secondly, his creative and generative power from the changes wrought by him in the universe; thirdly, his power to link together all things into one whole, from the harmony of his motions towards one and the same goal; fourthly, his middle station we can comprehend from himself, who is midmost; and fifthly, the fact that he is established as king among the intellectual gods, from his middle station among the planets. Now if we see that these powers, or

[1] *i.e.* the stationary positions and the direct and retrograde movements of the planets.

τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν ὁρῶμεν θεῶν ἢ τοσαῦτα ἕτερα, μή τοι τούτῳ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγεμονίαν προσνείμωμεν· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξω τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας, ἧς καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδίδωσι τοῖς πᾶσι, μαρτυράμενοι τούς τε Κυπρίων ἱερέας, οἳ κοινοὺς ἀποφαίνουσι βωμοὺς Ἡλίῳ καὶ Διί, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἀπόλλω[1] συνεδρεύοντα τῷ θεῷ τῷδε παρακαλέσαντες μάρτυρα· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος

Εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἀίδης, εἷς Ἥλιός ἐστι Σάραπις· 1
κοινὴν ὑπολάβωμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ μίαν Ἡλίου καὶ Διὸς ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς δυναστείαν· ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Πλάτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως φρόνιμον θεὸν Ἅιδην ὀνομάσαι. καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ Σάραπιν, τὸν ἀιδῆ δηλονότι καὶ νοερόν, πρὸς ὅν φησιν[2] ἄνω πορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἄριστα βιωσάντων καὶ δικαιότατα. μὴ γὰρ δή τις ὑπολάβῃ τοῦτον, ὃν οἱ μῦθοι πείθουσι φρίτ- B
τειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρᾷον καὶ μείλιχον, ὃς ἀπολύει παντελῶς τῆς γενέσεως τὰς ψυχάς, οὐχὶ δὲ λυθείσας αὐτὰς σώμασιν ἑτέροις προσηλοῖ[3] κολάζων καὶ πραττόμενος δίκας, ἀλλὰ πορεύων ἄνω καὶ ἀνατείνων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ νεαρὰ παντελῶς ἐστιν ἡ δόξα, προύλαβον δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ποιητῶν,

[1] 144 A, B, 149 C. [2] *Cratylus* 403 B. [3] *Phaedo* 83 D.

powers of similar importance, belong to any one of the other visible deities, let us not assign to Helios leadership among the gods. But if he has nothing in common with those other gods except his beneficent energy, and of this too he gives them all a share, then let us call to witness the priests of Cyprus who set up common altars to Helios and Zeus; but even before them let us summon as witness Apollo, who sits in council with our god. For this god declares: "Zeus, Hades, Helios Serapis, three gods in one godhead!"[1] Let us then assume that, among the intellectual gods, Helios and Zeus have a joint or rather a single sovereignty. Hence I think that with reason Plato called Hades a wise god.[2] And we call this same god Hades Serapis also, namely the Unseen[3] and Intellectual, to whom Plato says the souls of those who have lived most righteously and justly mount upwards. For let no one conceive of him as the god whom the legends teach us to shudder at, but as the mild and placable, since he completely frees our souls from generation: and the souls that he has thus freed he does not nail to other bodies, punishing them and exacting penalties, but he carries aloft and lifts up our souls to the intelligible world. And that this doctrine is not wholly new, but that

[1] This oracular verse is quoted as Orphic by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 18. 18; but Julian, no doubt following Iamblichus, substitutes Serapis for Dionysus at the end of the verse. The worship of Serapis in the Graeco-Roman world began with the foundation of a Serapeum by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria. Serapis was identified with Osiris, the Egyptian counterpart of Dionysus.

[2] *Phaedo* 80 D; in *Cratylus* 403 Plato discusses, though not seriously, the etymology of the word "Hades."

[3] Ἀΐδης, "Unseen."

Ὅμηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, εἴτε καὶ νοοῦντες οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἐπιπνοίᾳ θείᾳ καθάπερ οἱ μάντεις ἐνθουσιῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐνθένδ' ἂν γίγνοιτο C
γνώριμον. ὁ μὲν γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν Ὑπερίονος ἔφη καὶ Θείας, μόνον οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνιττόμενος τοῦ πάντων ὑπερέχοντος αὐτὸν ἔκγονον[1] γνήσιον φῦναι· ὁ γὰρ Ὑπερίων τίς ἂν ἕτερος εἴη παρὰ τοῦτον; ἡ Θεία δὲ αὐτὴ τρόπον ἕτερον οὐ τὸ θειότατον τῶν ὄντων λέγεται; μὴ δὲ συνδυασμὸν μηδὲ γάμους ὑπολαμβάνωμεν, ἄπιστα καὶ παράδοξα ποιητικῆς μούσης ἀθύρματα. πατέρα δὲ D
αὐτοῦ καὶ γεννήτορα νομίζωμεν τὸν θειότατον καὶ ὑπέρτατον· τοιοῦτος δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλος[2] εἴη τοῦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ περὶ ὃν πάντα καὶ οὗ ἕνεκα πάντα ἐστίν; Ὅμηρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ὑπερίονα καλεῖ,[3] καὶ δείκνυσί γε αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης κρεῖττον. ὁ γάρ τοι Ζεύς, ὥς ἐκεῖνός φησιν, ἁπάντων ὢν κύριος τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζει· ἐν δὲ τῷ μύθῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε λέγοντος,[4] ὅτι ἄρα διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν Ὀδυσσέως ἑταίρων ἀπολείψει τὸν Ὄλυμπον, 13
οὐκέτι φησὶν

Αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ τε θαλάσσῃ,

οὐδὲ ἀπειλεῖ δεσμὸν οὐδὲ βίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δίκην φησὶν ἐπιθήσειν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀξιοῖ φαίνειν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἆρ' οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων πρὸς τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ καὶ τελεσιουργὸν εἶναί φησι τὸν

[1] ἔκγονον MSS, ἔγγονον V, Hertlein.
[2] δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλος Hertlein suggests, δέ τις ἂν εἴη MSS.
[3] *Iliad* 8. 480; *Odyssey* 1. 8. [4] *Odyssey* 12. 383.

Homer and Hesiod the most venerable of the poets held it before us, whether this was their own view or, like seers, they were divinely inspired with a sacred frenzy for the truth, is evident from the following. Hesiod, in tracing his genealogy, said[1] that Helios is the son of Hyperion and Thea, intimating thereby that he is the true son of him who is above all things. For who else could Hyperion[2] be? And is not Thea herself, in another fashion, said to be most divine of beings? But as for a union or marriage, let us not conceive of such a thing, since that is the incredible and paradoxical trifling of the poetic Muse. But let us believe that his father and sire was the most divine and supreme being; and who else could have this nature save him who transcends all things, the central point and goal of all things that exist? And Homer calls him Hyperion after his father and shows his unconditioned nature, superior to all constraint. For Zeus, as Homer says, since he is lord of all constrains the other gods. And when, in the course of the myth, Helios says that on account of the impiety of the comrades of Odysseus[3] he will forsake Olympus, Zeus no longer says, "Then with very earth would I draw you up and the sea withal,"[4] nor does he threaten him with fetters or violence, but he says that he will inflict punishment on the guilty and bids Helios go on shining among the gods. Does he not thereby declare that besides being uncon-

[1] *Theogony* 371; cf Pindar, *Isthmian* 4. 1.
[2] Hyperion means "he that walks above."
[3] They had devoured the oxen of the sun; *Odyssey* 12. 352 foll.
[4] *Iliad.* 8. 24; Zeus utters this threat against the gods if they should aid either the Trojans or the Greeks.

Ἥλιον; ἐπὶ τί γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ θεοὶ δέονται, πλὴν εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀφανῶς ἐναστράπ- B
των ὧν ἔφαμεν ἀγαθῶν ἀποπληρωτικὸς τυγχάνοι; τὸ γὰρ

Ἠέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
Πέμψεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰς ἀέκοντα νέεσθαι[1]

πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ φησι νομισθῆναι τὴν νύκτα διά τινα χαλεπὴν ὁμίχλην. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ θεός που, καὶ ἄλλοθι τῆς ποιήσεώς φησιν,[2]

ἠέρα δ' Ἥρη
Πίτνα πρόσθε βαθεῖαν. C

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν χαίρειν ἐάσωμεν· ἔχει γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θείου πολὺ καὶ τἀνθρώπινον· ἃ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔοικεν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς διδάσκειν ὑπέρ τε αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐκεῖνα ἤδη διέλθωμεν.

Ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ἔχει. τίς οὖν ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἀιδιότητα δωρούμενος αὐτῷ; ἆρ' οὐχ ὁ ταῦτα μέτροις ὡρισμένοις συνέχων; ἄπειρον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν σώματος οὐχ οἷόν τ' D
ἦν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἀγέννητός ἐστι μηδὲ αὐθυπόστατος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας εἰ πάντως ἐγίνετό τι συνεχῶς, ἀνελύετο δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν μηδέν, ἐπέλειπεν ἂν τῶν γιγνομένων ἡ οὐσία. τὴν δὴ τοιαύτην φύσιν ὁ θεὸς ὅδε μέτρῳ κινούμενος προσιὼν μὲν ὀρθοῖ καὶ ἐγείρει, πόρρω δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐλαττοῖ καὶ φθείρει, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ ζωοποιεῖ κινῶν καὶ ἐποχετεύων αὐτῇ τὴν ζωήν· ἡ δὲ ἀπόλειψις αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἡ πρὸς θάτερα μετάστασις αἰτία γίνεται φθορᾶς 13

[1] *Iliad* 18. 239. [2] *Iliad* 21. 6.

ditioned, Helios has also the power to perfect? For why do the gods need him unless by sending his light, himself invisible, on their substance and existence, he fulfils for them the blessings of which I spoke? For when Homer says that "Ox-eyed Hera, the queen, sent unwearied Helios to go, all unwilling, to the streams of Oceanus," he means that, by reason of a heavy mist, it was thought to be night before the proper time. And this mist is surely the goddess herself, and in another place also in the poem he says, "Hera spread before them a thick mist." But let us leave the stories of the poets alone. For along with what is inspired they contain much also that is merely human. And let me now relate what the god himself seems to teach us, both about himself and the other gods.

The region of the earth contains being in a state of becoming. Then who endows it with imperishability? Is it not he[1] who keeps all together by means of definite limits? For that the nature of being should be unlimited was not possible, since it is neither uncreated nor self-subsistent. And if from being something were generated absolutely without ceasing and nothing were resolved back into it, the substance of things generated would fail. Accordingly this god, moving in due measure, raises up and stimulates this substance when he approaches it, and when he departs to a distance he diminishes and destroys it; or rather he himself continually revivifies it by giving it movement and flooding it with life. And his departure and turning in the

[1] Julian now describes the substance or essential nature, *οὐσία*, of Helios, 137 D–142 B.

τοῖς φθίνουσιν. ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσις ἴση κάτεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· ἄλλοτε γὰρ ἄλλη δέχεται τὰ τοιαῦτα χώρα πρὸς τὸ μήτε τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιλείπειν μήτε τοῦ συνήθους ποτὲ τὸν θεὸν ἔλαττον ἢ πλέον εὖ ποιῆσαι τὸν παθητὸν κόσμον. ἡ γὰρ ταυτότης ὥσπερ τῆς οὐσίας, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων Ἡλίῳ, ὃς καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἁπλουστάτην ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ποιεῖται τοὺς τῷ παντὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν φερομένους· ὃ δὴ καὶ B
αὐτὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπεροχῆς αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ποιεῖται ὁ κλεινὸς Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων νοερῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀμυδραὶ καθήκουσιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τόνδε δυνάμεις. εἶτα τί τοῦτο; μὴ γὰρ ἀποκλείομεν τοὺς ἄλλους τούτῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁμολογοῦντες δεδόσθαι; πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀξιοῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν πιστεύειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰς ἐνδιδομένας ἅπασιν C
ἐκεῖθεν δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν γῆν οὗτος φαίνεται τελεσιουργῶν καὶ συναρμόζων πρός τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν, οὕτω δὴ νομιστέον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀφανέσιν αὐτῶν τὰς συνουσίας ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν ἐκείνην, συμφωνούσας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὰς ἄλλας ἅμα. ἐπεὶ καί, εἰ μέσον ἔφαμεν ἐν μέσοις ἱδρῦσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, ποταπή τις ἡ μεσότης ἐστὶν ὧν αὖ χρὴ μέσον

other direction is the cause of decay for things that perish. Ever does his gift of blessings descend evenly upon the earth. For now one country now another receives them, to the end that becoming may not cease nor the god ever benefit less or more than is his custom this changeful world. For sameness, as of being so also of activity, exists among the gods, and above all the others in the case of the King of the All, Helios; and he also makes the simplest movement of all the heavenly bodies[1] that travel in a direction opposite to the whole. In fact this is the very thing that the celebrated Aristotle makes a proof of his superiority, compared with the others. Nevertheless from the other intellectual gods also, forces clearly discernible descend to this world. And now what does this mean? Are we not excluding the others when we assert that the leadership has been assigned to Helios? Nay, far rather do I think it right from the visible to have faith about the invisible.[2] For even as this god is seen to complete and to adapt to himself and to the universe the powers that are bestowed on the earth from the other gods for all things, after the same fashion we must believe that among the invisible gods also there is intercourse with one another; his mode of intercourse being that of a leader, while the modes of intercourse of the others are at the same time in harmony with his. For since we said that the god is established midmost among the midmost intellectual gods, may King Helios himself grant to us to tell what is the nature of that middleness

[1] *i.e.* The sun, moon and planets; the orbits of the planets are complicated by their direct and retrograde movements.

[2] cf. 133 D.

αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰπεῖν
῞Ηλιος δοίη.

Μεσότητα μὲν δή φαμεν οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις D
θεωρουμένην ἴσον ἀφεστῶσαν τῶν ἄκρων, οἷον ἐπὶ
χρωμάτων τὸ ξανθὸν ἢ φαιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ θερμοῦ καὶ
ψυχροῦ τὸ χλιαρόν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὴν
ἑνωτικὴν καὶ συνάγουσαν τὰ διεστῶτα, ὁποίαν
τινά φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐξορίζων
αὐτῆς παντελῶς τὸ νεῖκος. τίνα οὖν ἐστιν, ἃ
συνάγει, καὶ τίνων ἐστὶ μέσος; φημὶ δὴ οὖν ὅτι
τῶν τε ἐμφανῶν καὶ περικοσμίων θεῶν καὶ τῶν
ἀύλων καὶ νοητῶν, οἳ περὶ τἀγαθόν εἰσιν, ὥσπερ 1
πολυπλασιαζομένης ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἄνευ προσθήκης
τῆς νοητῆς καὶ θείας οὐσίας. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐστι
μέση τις, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων κραθεῖσα, τελεία δὲ
καὶ ἀμιγὴς ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ
ἀφανῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως
Ἡλίου νοερὰ καὶ πάγκαλος οὐσία, καὶ ὁποίαν τινὰ
χρὴ τὴν μεσότητα νομίζειν, εἴρηται. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ
τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἵν' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ'
εἴδη τὸ μέσον τῆς οὐσίας, ὅπως ἔχει πρός τε τὰ
πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα,[1] τῷ νῷ κατίδωμεν, εἰ καὶ B

[1] τὰ τελευταῖα Hertlein suggests, τελευταῖα MSS.

among things of which we must regard him as the middle.

Now "middleness"[1] we define not as that mean which in opposites is seen to be equally remote from the extremes, as, for instance, in colours, tawny or dusky, and warm in the case of hot and cold, and the like, but that which unifies and links together what is separate; for instance the sort of thing that Empedocles[2] means by Harmony when from it he altogether eliminates Strife. And now what does Helios link together, and of what is he the middle? I assert then that he is midway between the visible gods who surround the universe and the immaterial and intelligible gods who surround the Good—for the intelligible and divine substance is as it were multiplied without external influence and without addition. For that the intellectual and wholly beautiful substance of King Helios is middle in the sense of being unmixed with extremes, complete in itself, and distinct from the whole number of the gods, visible and invisible, both those perceptible by sense and those which are intelligible only, I have already declared, and also in what sense we must conceive of his middleness. But if I must also describe these things one by one, in order that we may discern with our intelligence how his intermediary nature, in its various forms, is related both to the highest and the lowest, even though it is

[1] Julian defines the ways in which Helios possesses μεσότης, or middleness; he is mediator and connecting link as well as locally midway between the two worlds and the centre of the intellectual gods; see Introduction, p. 350.

[2] cf. Empedocles, *fr.* 18; 122, 2; 17, 19 Diels.

μὴ πάντα διελθεῖν ῥᾴδιον, ἀλλ' οὖν τὰ δυνατὰ φράσαι πειραθῶμεν.

Ἓν παντελῶς τὸ νοητὸν ἀεὶ προϋπάρχον, τὰ[1] δὲ πάντα ὁμοῦ συνειληφὸς ἐν τῷ ἑνί. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἕν ἐστι ζῷον ὅλον δι' ὅλου ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ πλῆρες, τέλειον ἐκ μερῶν τελείων;[2] ταύτης οὖν τῆς διπλῆς ἑνοειδοῦς τελειότητος· φημὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ νοητῷ πάντα ἐν ἑνὶ συνεχούσης, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν C τελείαν συναγομένης ἑνώσεως· ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου μέση τελειότης ἑνοειδής ἐστιν, ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἱδρυμένη θεοῖς. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο συνοχή τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τῶν θεῶν κόσμῳ πάντα πρὸς τὸ ἓν συντάττουσα. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν φαίνεται κύκλῳ πορευομένη τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐσία,[3] ἣ πάντα συνέχει τὰ μέρη καὶ σφίγγει πρὸς αὑτὰ συνέχουσα τὸ φύσει σκεδαστὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων; δύο δὴ ταύτας τὰς[4] οὐσίας συνοχῆς αἰτίας, τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς D φαινομένην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάπτει, τῆς μὲν μιμούμενος τὴν συνεκτικὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς, ἅτε ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθών, τῆς δὲ τελευταίας προκατάρχων, ἣ περὶ τὸν ἐμφανῆ θεωρεῖται κόσμον. μή ποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ

[1] τὰ Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.
[2] Plato, *Timaeus* 33 A.
[3] cf. 139 C; *Oration* 5. 165 C, 166 D, 170 C.
[4] τὰς Hertlein suggests.

not easy to recount it all, yet let me try to say what can be said.

Wholly one is the intelligible world, pre-existent from all time, and it combines all things together in the One. Again is not our whole world also one complete living organism, wholly throughout the whole of it full of soul and intelligence, "perfect, with all its parts perfect"? Midway then between this uniform two-fold perfection—I mean that one kind of unity holds together in one all that exists in the intelligible world, while the other kind of unity unites in the visible world all things into one and the same perfect nature—between these, I say, is the uniform perfection of King Helios, established among the intellectual gods There is, however, next in order, a sort of binding force in the intelligible world of the gods, which orders all things into one. Again is there not visible in the heavens also, travelling in its orbit, the nature of the Fifth Substance, which links and compresses[1] together all the parts, holding together things that by nature are prone to scatter and to fall away from one another? These existences, therefore, which are two causes of connection, one in the intelligible world, while the other appears in the world of sense-perception, King Helios combines into one, imitating the synthetic power of the former among the intellectual gods, seeing that he proceeds from it, and subsisting prior to the latter which is seen in the visible world. Then must not the

[1] cf. 167 D. In *Timaeus* 58 A it is the revolution of the whole which by constriction compresses all matter together, but Julian had that passage in mind. In Empedocles it is the Titan, Aether, *i.e.* the Fifth Substance, that "binds the globe." *fr.* 38 Diels.

αὐθυπόστατον πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ὑπάρχον, τελευταῖον δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν φαινομένοις μέσην ἔχει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως οὐσίαν αὐθυπόστατον Ἡλίου, ἀφ᾽ ἧς κάτεισιν οὐσίας πρωτουργοῦ εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἡ περιλάμπουσα τὰ σύμπαντα αὐγή; πάλιν δὲ κατ᾽ ἄλλο σκοποῦντι εἷς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦντες δημιουργικοὶ θεοί. μέσην ἄρα καὶ τούτων τὴν ἀφ᾽ Ἡλίου καθήκουσαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον δημιουργίαν θετέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς πολὺ μὲν B
καὶ ὑπέρπληρες ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, φαίνεται δὲ ζωῆς γονίμου καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὢν πλήρης. πρόδηλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου τῆς ζωῆς μέσον ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τελειοῖ τῶν εἰδῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐργάζεται, τὰ δὲ κοσμεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀνεγείρει, καὶ ἓν οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ δίχα τῆς ἀφ᾽ Ἡλίου δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως εἰς φῶς πρόεισι καὶ γένεσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις C
εἰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν ἄυλον οὐσίαν νοήσαιμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔξωθεν αὐτῇ προσιόντος οὐδὲ ἐνυπάρχοντος ἀλλοτρίου, πλήρη δὲ τῆς οἰκείας ἀχράντου καθαρότητος, τήν τε ἐν τῷ

unconditioned also, which exists primarily in the intelligible world, and finally among the visible bodies in the heavens, possess midway between these two the unconditioned substance of King Helios, and from that primary creative substance do not the rays of his light, illumining all things, descend to the visible world? Again, to take another point of view, the creator of the whole is one, but many are the creative gods[1] who revolve in the heavens. Midmost therefore of these also we must place the creative activity which descends into the world from Helios. But also the power of generating life is abundant and overflowing in the intelligible world; and our world also appears to be full of generative life. It is therefore evident that the life-generating power of King Helios also is midway between both the worlds: and the phenomena of our world also bear witness to this. For some forms he perfects, others he makes, or adorns, or wakes to life, and there is no single thing which, apart from the creative power derived from Helios, can come to light and to birth. And further, besides this, if we should comprehend the pure and undefiled and immaterial substance[2] among the intelligible gods—to which nothing external is added, nor has any alien thing a place therein, but it is filled with its own unstained

[1] Plato in *Timaeus* 41 A, distinguishes "the gods who revolve before our eyes" from "those who reveal themselves so far as they will." Julian regularly describes, as here, a triad; every one of his three worlds has its own unconditioned being (*αὐθυπόστατον*); its own creative power (*δημιουργία*); its own power to generate life (*γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς*); and in every case, the middle term is Helios as a connecting link in his capacity of thinking or intellectual god (*νοερός*).

[2] Julian now describes the three kinds of substance (*οὐσία*) and its three forms (*εἶδη*) in the three worlds.

κόσμῳ περὶ τὸ κύκλῳ φερόμενον σῶμα πρὸς πάντα ἀμιγῆ τὰ στοιχεῖα λίαν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν φύσιν ἀχράντου καὶ δαιμονίου σώματος, εὑρήσομεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου λαμπρὰν καὶ 1
ἀκήρατον οὐσίαν ἀμφοῖν μέσην, τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀύλου καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἀχράντου καὶ ἀμιγοῦς πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν καθαρᾶς εἰλικρινείας. μέγιστον δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ φῶς, ὃ μάλιστα ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ γῆν φέρεται, συμμίγνυταί τινι μηδὲ ἀναδέχεται ῥύπον καὶ μίασμα, μένει δὲ πάντως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἄχραντον καὶ ἀμόλυντον καὶ ἀπαθές.

Ἔτι δὲ προσεκτέον τοῖς ἀύλοις εἴδεσι καὶ νοητοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ὅσα περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἐστὶν ἢ περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἀναφανήσεται 1
πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μέσον τὸ νοερὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἥλιον εἰδῶν, ὑφ᾽ ὧν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ὕλην εἴδη βοηθεῖται μήποτε ἂν δυνηθέντα μήτε εἶναι μήτε σώζεσθαι μὴ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν συνεργούμενα. τί γάρ; οὐχ οὗτός ἐστι τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ συγκρίσεως τῆς ὕλης αἴτιος, οὐ νοεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρέχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶν ὄμμασιν; ἡ γάρ τοι τῶν

purity—and if we should comprehend also the pure and unmixed nature of unstained and divine substance, whose elements are wholly unmixed, and which, in the visible universe, surrounds the substance that revolves,[1] here also we should discover the radiant and stainless substance of King Helios, midway between the two; that is to say, midway between the immaterial purity that exists among the intelligible gods, and that perfect purity, unstained and free from birth and death, that exists in the world which we can perceive. And the greatest proof of this is that not even the light which comes down nearest to the earth from the sun is mixed with anything, nor does it admit dirt and defilement, but remains wholly pure and without stain and free from external influences among all existing things.

But we must go on to consider the immaterial and intelligible forms,[2] and also those visible forms which are united with matter or the substratum. Here again, the intellectual will be found to be midmost among the forms that surround mighty Helios, by which forms in their turn the material forms are aided; for they never could have existed or been preserved, had they not been brought, by his aid, into connection with being. For consider: is not he the cause of the separation of the forms, and of the combination of matter, in that he not only permits us to comprehend his very self, but also to behold him with our eyes? For the distribution of

[1] *i.e.* the visible heavenly bodies.

[2] Helios connects the forms (Plato's Ideas) which exist in the intelligible world, with those which in our world ally themselves with matter; cf. *Oration* 5. 171 B.

ἀκτίνων εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον διανομὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἕνωσις τὴν δημιουργικὴν ἐνδείκνυται διάκρισιν τῆς ποιήσεως. B

Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ἔτι περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἃ δὴ ὅτι μέσος ἐστὶ τῶν τε νοητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν παρίστησιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῦ μετίωμεν ἐμφανῆ λῆξιν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν τελευταῖον κόσμον ἡ τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀγγέλων οἷον ἐν παραδείγματι τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχουσα· μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γεννητική, ἧς τὸ μὲν C τιμιώτερον οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστέρων ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ ὑποδεέστερον ἐπιτροπεύει τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ ἀιδίου περιέχον αὐτῆς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν. ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε διελθεῖν οὐδὲ εἴ τῳ δοίη νοῆσαι αὐτὰ[1] ὁ θεὸς οὗτος δυνατόν, ὅπου καὶ τὰ πάντα περιλαβεῖν τῷ νῷ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἀδύνατον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ διεληλύθαμεν, ἐπιθετέον ὥσπερ σφραγῖδα τῷ λόγῳ τῷδε μέλλοντας ἐφ᾽ ἕτερα μεταβαίνειν οὐκ ἐλάττονος τῆς θεωρίας δεόμενα. τίς D οὖν ἡ σφραγὶς καὶ οἷον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τὰ πάντα περιλαμβάνουσα ἡ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν θείη βουλομένοις ἐν βραχεῖ συνελεῖν τήν τε αἰτίαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς προῆλθε,

[1] αὐτὰ V, αὐτὸς MSS, Hertlein.

his rays over the whole universe, and the unifying power of his light, prove him to be the master workman who gives an individual existence to everything that is created.

Now though there are many more blessings connected with the substance of the god and apparent to us, which show that he is midway between the intelligible and the mundane gods[1] let us proceed to his last visible province. His first province then in the last of the worlds is, as though by way of a pattern, to give form and personality to the sun's angels.[2] Next is his province of generating the world of sense-perception, of which the more honourable part contains the cause of the heavens and the heavenly bodies, while the inferior part guides this our world of becoming, and from eternity contains in itself the uncreated cause of that world. Now to describe all the properties of the substance of this god, even though the god himself should grant one to comprehend them, is impossible, seeing that even to grasp them all with the mind is, in my opinion, beyond our power.

But since I have already described many of them, I must set a seal, as it were, on this discourse, now that I am about to pass to other subjects that demand no less investigation. What then that seal is, and what is the knowledge of the god's substance that embraces all these questions, and as it were sums them up under one head, may he himself suggest to my mind, since I desire to describe in a

[1] *i.e.* the heavenly bodies.

[2] These angels combine, as does a model, the idea and its hypostasization; cf. 142 A, *Letter to the Athenians* 275 B. Julian nowhere defines angels, but Porphyry as quoted by Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 10, 9, distinguished them from daemons and placed them in the aether.

καὶ αὐτὸς ὅστις ἐστί, τινων τε ἀποπληροῖ τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον. ῥητέον οὖν ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν προῆλθε τοῦ θεοῦ εἷς ἀφ' ἑνὸς τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος, τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν μέσος ἐν μέσοις 1–
τεταγμένος κατὰ παντοίαν μεσότητα, τὴν ὁμόφρονα καὶ φίλην καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα συνάγουσαν, εἰς ἕνωσιν ἄγων τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς πρώτοις, τελειότητος καὶ συνοχῆς καὶ γονίμου ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἑνοειδοῦς οὐσίας τὰ μέσα ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ τε αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ παντοίων ἀγαθῶν προηγούμενος,[1] οὐ μόνον δι' ἧς αὐτὸς αὐγῆς περιλάμπει κοσμῶν καὶ φαιδρύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀγγέλων[2] ἑαυτῷ συνυποστήσας καὶ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων περιέχων, ἔτι τε B
πρὸ ταύτης τῶν ἀιδίων σωμάτων τὴν ἀγήρω καὶ μόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς αἰτίαν.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε, καίτοι τῶν πλείστων παραλειφθέντων, εἴρηται ὅμως οὐκ ὀλίγα· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν κάλλος τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστε εἶναι τῶν περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ θεωρουμένων ὑπερβολήν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πέφυκε τὰ θεῖα προϊόντα εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς πληθύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ περιὸν καὶ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς, ὅρα τί δράσομεν, οἳ C

[1] προηγούμενος V, προκαθηγούμενος MSS, Hertlein.
[2] cf. 141 B.

brief summary both the cause from which he proceeded, and his own nature, and those blessings with which he fills the visible world. This then we must declare, that King Helios is One and proceeds from one god, even from the intelligible world which is itself One; and that he is midmost of the intellectual gods, stationed in their midst by every kind of mediateness that is harmonious and friendly, and that joins what is sundered; and that he brings together into one the last and the first, having in his own person the means of completeness, of connection, of generative life and of uniform being: and that for the world which we can perceive he initiates blessings of all sorts, not only by means of the light with which he illumines it, adorning it and giving it its splendour, but also because he calls into existence, along with himself, the substance of the Sun's angels; and that finally in himself he comprehends the ungenerated cause of things generated, and further, and prior to this, the ageless and abiding cause of the life of the imperishable bodies.[1]

Now as for what it was right to say about the substance of this god, though the greater part has been omitted, nevertheless much has been said. But since the multitude of his powers and the beauty of his activities is so great that we shall now exceed the limit of what we observed about his substance,—for it is natural that when divine things come forth into the region of the visible they should be multiplied, in virtue of the superabundance of life and life-generating power in them,—consider what I have to do. For now I must strip for a plunge into this

[1] *i.e.* the heavenly bodies; cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 295A.

πρὸς ἀχανὲς πέλαγος ἀποδυόμεθα, μόγις καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι λόγου. τολμητέον δ' ὅμως τῷ θεῷ θαρροῦντα καὶ πειρατέον ἅψασθαι τοῦ λόγου.

Κοινῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσήκειν ὑποληπτέον. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο μέν ἐστιν οὐσία θεοῦ, δύναμις δὲ ἄλλο, καὶ μὰ Δία τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα ἐνέργεια. D
πάντα γὰρ ἅπερ βούλεται, ταῦτα ἔστι καὶ δύναται καὶ ἐνεργεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ ὃ μὴ ἔστι βούλεται, οὔτε ὃ βούλεται δρᾶν οὐ σθένει, οὔθ' ὃ μὴ δύναται ἐνεργεῖν ἐθέλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐχ ὧδε ἔχει· διττὴ γάρ ἐστι μαχομένη φύσις εἰς ἓν κεκραμένη ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τῆς μὲν θείας, τοῦ δὲ σκοτεινοῦ τε καὶ ζοφώδους· ἔοικέ τε εἶναι μάχη τις καὶ στάσις. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ[1] διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο μήτε τὰς ἡδονὰς ὁμολο- 141
γεῖν μήτε τὰς λύπας ἀλλήλαις ἐν ἡμῖν· τὸ γὰρ θατέρᾳ, φησί, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν φύσεων ἡδὺ τῇ πρὸς ταύτην ἀντικειμένῃ πέφυκεν ἀλγεινόν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδέν ἐστι τοιοῦτον·[2] οὐσίᾳ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει τἀγαθὰ καὶ διηνεκῶς, οὐ ποτὲ μέν, ποτὲ δ' οὔ. πρῶτον οὖν ὅσαπερ ἔφαμεν, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ παραστῆσαι βουλόμενοι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἰρῆσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν νομιστέον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ λόγος ἔοικεν ἀντιστρέφειν, ὅσα καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργειῶν ἐφεξῆς σκοποῦμεν, ταῦτα οὐκ ἔργα B
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσίαν νομιστέον. εἰσὶ γάρ τοι

[1] *Nicomachean Ethics* 7. 14. 1154 b.
[2] *τοιοῦτον* Hertlein suggests, *τούτων* MSS.

fathomless sea, though I have barely, and as best I might, taken breath, after the first part of this discourse. Venture I must, nevertheless, and putting my trust in the god endeavour to handle the theme.

We must assume that what has just been said about his substance applies equally to his powers.[1] For it cannot be that a god's substance is one thing, and his power another, and his activity, by Zeus, a third thing besides these. For all that he wills he is, and can do, and puts into action. For he does not will what is not, nor does he lack power to do what he wills, nor does he desire to put into action what he cannot. In the case of a human being, however, this is otherwise. For his is a two-fold contending nature of soul and body compounded into one, the former divine, the latter dark and clouded. Naturally, therefore, there is a battle and a feud between them. And Aristotle also says that this is why neither the pleasures nor the pains in us harmonise with one another. For he says that what is pleasant to one of the natures within us is painful to the nature which is its opposite. But among the gods there is nothing of this sort. For from their very nature what is good belongs to them, and perpetually, not intermittently. In the first place, then, all that I said when I tried to show forth his substance, I must be considered to have said about his powers and activities also. And since in such cases the argument is naturally convertible, all that I observe next in order concerning his powers and activities must be considered to apply not to his activities only, but to his substance also. For verily there

[1] The powers and activities of Helios are now described, 142 D–152 A.

θεοὶ συγγενεῖς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συμφυεῖς, τὴν ἄχραντον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κορυφούμενοι, πληθυνόμενοι μὲν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἑνοειδῶς ὄντες. ἄκουε δὴ πρῶτον ὅσα φασὶν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἵπποι καὶ βόες ὁρῶντες ἤ τι τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀμαθῶν ζῴων, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀφανῆ πολυπραγμονοῦντες φύσιν· ἔτι δὲ πρὸ τούτων, εἴ σοι φίλον, περὶ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ C
καὶ ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ἐκ μυρίων τὸ πλῆθος ὀλίγα θέασαι.

Πρώτη δὴ τῶν δυνάμεών ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, δι' ἧς ὅλην δι' ὅλης τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν, τὰς ἀκρότητας αὐτῆς εἰς ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸ συνάγων, ἀποφαίνει μίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ περὶ τὸν αἰσθητόν ἐστι κόσμον ἐναργῶς κατανοῆσαι, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς εἰλημμένον ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν μέσῳ, τῶν ἄκρων σύνδεσμον, τοῦτο οὐκ ἄν τις εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων D
αἰτίας κεχωρισμένης, ἣ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχουσα τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔστι γένεσις, οὕτω διατετάχθαι νομίσειεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τὰς ἄκρας αἰτίας κεχωρισμένας πάντη τῶν σωμάτων ὑπό τινων μεσοτήτων εἰς ταὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου συναγομένας ἑνοῦσθαι περὶ αὐτόν; συντρέχει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Διὸς δημιουργικὴ δύναμις, δι' ἣν ἔφαμεν καὶ πρότερον ἱδρῦσθαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι κοινῇ τὰ τεμένη· καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 14
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐμαρτυρόμεθα τῶν λόγων, ὃν εἰκὸς δήπουθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἄμεινον εἰδέναι·

are gods related to Helios and of like substance who sum up the stainless nature of this god, and though in the visible world they are plural, in him they are one. And now listen first to what they assert who look at the heavens, not like horses and cattle, or some other unreasoning and ignorant animal,[1] but from it draw their conclusions about the unseen world. But even before this, if you please, consider his supra-mundane powers and activities, and out of a countless number, observe but a few.

First, then, of his powers is that through which he reveals the whole intellectual substance throughout as one, since he brings together its extremes. For even as in the world of sense-perception we can clearly discern air and water set between fire and earth,[2] as the link that binds together the extremes, would one not reasonably suppose that, in the case of the cause which is separate from elements and prior to them—and though it is the principle of generation, is not itself generation—it is so ordered that, in that world also, the extreme causes which are wholly separate from elements are bound together into one through certain modes of mediation, by King Helios, and are united about him as their centre? And the creative power of Zeus also coincides with him, by reason of which in Cyprus, as I said earlier, shrines are founded and assigned to them in common. And Apollo himself also we called to witness to our statements, since it is certainly likely that he knows better than we about his own nature. For he too abides with

[1] cf. 148 C, *Timaeus* 47 A, *Republic* 529 B, where Plato distinguishes mere star-gazing from astronomy.

[2] *Timaeus* 32 B; Plato says that to make the universe solid, "God set air and water between fire and earth."

σύνεστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Ἡλίῳ καὶ ἐπικοινωνεῖ διὰ τὴν[1] ἁπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων καὶ τὸ μόνιμον τῆς οὐσίας καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὂν τῆς ἐνεργείας.[2]

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημιουργίαν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται χωρίζων ὁ θεὸς Ἡλίου· τούτῳ δὲ αὐτὴν ὑποτάττων ἀεὶ καὶ ἀποφαίνων σύνθρονον ἐξηγητής ἡμῖν ἐστι τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καλλίστων διανοημάτων. πάσας δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχων ὁ θεὸς ὅδε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς καλλίστης νοερᾶς συγκράσεως Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Μουσηγέτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλην ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς εὐταξίας ζωὴν συμπληροῖ, γεννᾷ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, ἔχει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου παρ᾿ ἑαυτῷ. B

Ἀλλὰ πολλὰς μὲν ἄν τις καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τὸν θεὸν τόνδε δυνάμεις θεωρῶν οὔποτ᾿ ἂν ἐφίκοιτο πασῶν· ἀπόχρη δὲ τῆς μὲν χωριστῆς καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν αἰτιῶν, αἳ κεχωρισμέναι τῆς φανερᾶς προϋπάρχουσι δημιουργίας, ἴσην Ἡλίῳ καὶ Διὶ τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ μίαν C ὑπάρχουσαν τεθεωρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ ἁπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων μετὰ τοῦ διαιωνίου καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ μονίμου ξὺν Ἀπόλλωνι τεθεαμένοις, τὸ δὲ μεριστὸν τῆς

[1] διὰ τὴν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τὴν MSS.
[2] cf. 144 a.

Helios and is his colleague by reason of the singleness of his thoughts and the stability of his substance and the consistency of his activity.

But Apollo too in no case appears to separate the departmental creative function of Dionysus[1] from Helios. And since he always subordinates it to Helios and so indicates that Dionysus[2] is his partner on the throne, Apollo is the interpreter for us of the fairest purposes that are to be found with our god. Further Helios, since he comprehends in himself all the principles of the fairest intellectual synthesis, is himself Apollo the leader of the Muses. And since he fills the whole of our life with fair order, he begat Asclepios[3] in the world, though even before the beginning of the world he had him by his side.

But though one should survey many other powers that belong to this god, never could one investigate them all. It is enough to have observed the following: That there is an equal and identical dominion of Helios and Zeus over the separate creation which is prior to substances, in the region, that is to say, of the absolute causes which, separated from visible creation, existed prior to it; secondly we observed the singleness of his thoughts which is bound up with the imperishableness and abiding sameness that he shares with Apollo; thirdly, the departmental

[1] cf. 144 c. 179 A; Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 203 E, says that because Dionysus was torn asunder by the Titans, his function is to divide wholes into their parts and to separate the forms (εἴδη).

[2] Julian calls Dionysus the son of Helios 152 C, D, and the son of Zeus, *Oration* 5. 179 B.

[3] cf. 153 B, where Asclepios is called "the saviour of the All," and *Against the Christians* 200 A.

δημιουργίας μετὰ τοῦ τὴν μεριστὴν ἐπιτροπεύοντος οὐσίαν Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ τῆς καλλίστης συμμετρίας καὶ νοερᾶς κράσεως περὶ τὴν τοῦ Μουσηγέτου δύναμιν τεθεωρηκόσι, τὸ συμπληροῦν δὲ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς ὅλης ζωῆς ξὺν Ἀσκληπιῷ νοοῦσι.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προκοσμίων αὐτοῦ D
δυνάμεων, ἔργα δὲ ὁμοταγῆ ταύταις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποπλήρωσις. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι γνήσιος ἔκγονος[1] τἀγαθοῦ, παραδεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τελείαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν, αὐτὸς ἅπασι τοῖς νοεροῖς διανέμει θεοῖς, ἀγαθοεργὸν καὶ τελείαν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς τὴν οὐσίαν. ἓν μὲν δὴ τουτί. δεύτερον δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ
τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις 14
εἴδεσι τελειοτάτη διανομή. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει φαινομένης οὐσίας γονίμου γεννᾶν ἐφιεμένης ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ὑπεκτίθεσθαι τὸν τόκον, ἔτι ἀνάγκη προηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κάλλει τοῦτο αὐτὸ διαιωνίως καὶ ἀεὶ ποιοῦσαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν μέν, εἰσαῦθις δὲ οὔ, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν γεννῶσαν, αὖθις δὲ ἄγονον. ὅσα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ποτὲ καλά, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀεί. ῥητέον τοίνυν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν τοῖς
φαινομένοις αἰτίας γονίμου προκαθηγεῖσθαι τὸν ἐν B
τῷ νοερῷ καὶ διαιωνίῳ κάλλει τόκον ἀγέννητον, ὃν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποστήσας, ᾧ καὶ τὸν τέλειον νοῦν διανέμει, καθάπερ ὄμμασιν ἐνδι-

[1] ἔκγονος MSS, ἔγγονος V, Hertlein.

part of his creative function which he shares with Dionysus who controls divided substance; fourthly we have observed the power of the leader of the Muses, revealed in fairest symmetry and blending of the intellectual; finally we comprehended that Helios, with Asclepios, fulfils the fair order of the whole of life.

So much then in respect to those powers of his that existed before the beginning of the world; and co-ordinate with these are his works over the whole visible world, in that he fills it with good gifts. For since he is the genuine son of the Good and from it has received his blessed lot in fulness of perfection, he himself distributes that blessedness to the intellectual gods, bestowing on them a beneficent and perfect nature. This then is one of his works. And a second work of the god is his most perfect distribution of intelligible beauty among the intellectual and immaterial forms. For when the generative substance [1] which is visible in our world desires to beget in the Beautiful [2] and to bring forth offspring, it is further necessary that it should be guided by the substance that, in the region of intelligible beauty, does this very thing eternally and always and not intermittently, now fruitful now barren. For all that is beautiful in our world only at times, is beautiful always in the intelligible world. We must therefore assert that the ungenerated offspring in beauty intelligible and eternal guides the generative cause in the visible world; which offspring[3] this god[4] called into existence and keeps at his side, and to it he assigns also perfect reason.

[1] The sun. [2] Plato, *Symposium* 206 B τόκος ἐν καλῷ.
[3] *i.e.* Intellectual Helios. [4] *i.e.* Intelligible Helios.

δοὺς διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς[1] διὰ τοῦ νοεροῦ παραδείγματος, ὃ προτείνει πολὺ φανότερον τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῖς νοεροῖς τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι παρέχει. ἑτέρα πρὸς ταύταις ἐνέργεια θαυμαστὴ φαίνεται C περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιον ἡ τοῖς κρείττοσι γένεσιν ἐνδιδομένη μοῖρα βελτίων, ἀγγέλοις,[2] δαίμοσιν, ἥρωσι ψυχαῖς τε μερισταῖς, ὁπόσαι μένουσιν ἐν παραδείγματος καὶ ἰδέας λόγῳ, μήποτε ἑαυτὰς διδοῦσαι σώματι. τὴν μὲν οὖν προκόσμιον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεις τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔργα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑμνοῦντες Ἥλιον, ἐφ᾿ ὅσον ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἦν ἐφικέσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν D εὐφημίας σπεύδοντες, διεληλύθαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄμματα, φησίν, ἀκοῆς ἐστι πιστότερα, καίτοι τῆς νοήσεως ὄντα γε ἀπιστότερα καὶ ἀσθενέστερα, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας αἰτησάμενοι παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν πειραθῶμεν.

Ὑπέστη μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ φαινόμενος ἐξ αἰῶνος κόσμος, ἕδραν δὲ ἔχει τὸ περικόσμιον φῶς ἐξ αἰῶνος, οὐχὶ νῦν μέν, τότε δὲ οὔ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἀεὶ δὲ ὡσαύτως. ἀλλ᾿ εἴ τις ταύτην τὴν

[1] νοητοῖς Petavius adds.

[2] cf. 141 B, *Letter to the Athenians* 275 B.

For just as through his light he gives sight to our eyes, so also among the intelligible gods through his intellectual counterpart—which he causes to shine far more brightly than his rays in our upper air—he bestows, as I believe, on all the intellectual gods the faculty of thought and of being comprehended by thought. Besides these, another marvellous activity of Helios the King of the All is that by which he endows with superior lot the nobler races—I mean angels, daemons,[1] heroes, and those divided souls[2] which remain in the category of model and archetype and never give themselves over to bodies. I have now described the substance of our god that is prior to the world and his powers and activities, celebrating Helios the King of the All in so far as it was possible for me to compass his praise. But since eyes, as the saying goes, are more trustworthy than hearing—although they are of course less trustworthy and weaker than the intelligence—come, let me endeavour to tell also of his visible creative function; but let first me entreat him to grant that I speak with some measure of success.

From eternity there subsisted, surrounding Helios, the visible world, and from eternity the light that encompasses the world has its fixed station, not shining intermittently, nor in different ways at different times, but always in the same manner. And

[1] Plato, *Laws* 713 D defines daemons as a race superior to men but inferior to gods; they were created to watch over human affairs; Julian, *Letter to Themistius* 258 B echoes Plato's description; cf. Plotinus 3. 5. 6; pseudo-Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 1. 20. 61; Julian 2. 90 B.

[2] *i.e.* the individual souls; by using this term, derived from the Neo-Platonists and Iamblichus, Julian implies that there is an indivisible world soul; cf. Plotinus 4. 8. 8 ἡ μὲν ὅλη (ψυχὴ) . . . αἱ δὲ ἐν μέρει γενόμεναι.

διαιώνιον φύσιν ἄχρις ἐπινοίας ἐθελήσειε χρονικῶς κατανοῆσαι, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιον 1
ἀθρόως καταλάμποντα ῥᾷστα ἂν γνοίη, πόσων αἴτιός ἐστι δι' αἰῶνος ἀγαθῶν τῷ κόσμῳ. οἶδα μὲν οὖν καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν μέγαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἄνδρα τοῖς χρόνοις, οὔτι μὴν τῇ φύσει καταδεέστερον· τὸν Χαλκιδέα φημί, τὸν Ἰάμβλιχον· ὃς ἡμᾶς τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐμύησεν, ἄχρις ὑποθέσεως τῷ γεννητῷ προσχρωμένους καὶ οἱονεὶ χρονικήν τινα τὴν ποίησιν ὑποτιθεμένους, ἵνα τὸ B
μέγεθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένων ἔργων ἐπινοηθείη. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπολειπομένῳ παντάπασι δυνάμεως οὐδαμῶς ἐστι παρακινδυνευτέον, ἐπείπερ ἀκίνδυνον οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ μέχρι ψιλῆς ὑποθέσεως χρονικήν τινα περὶ τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέσθαι ποίησιν ὁ κλεινὸς ἥρως ἐνόμισεν Ἰάμβλιχος. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ αἰωνίου προῆλθεν αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ προήγαγε πάντα ἐξ αἰῶνος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφανῶν τὰ φανερὰ βουλήσει C
θείᾳ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ τάχει καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δυνάμει πάντα ἀθρόως ἐν τῷ νῦν ἀπογεννήσας χρόνῳ, ἀπεκληρώσατο μὲν οἷον οἰκειοτέραν ἕδραν τὸ μέσον οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἴσα διανέμῃ τἀγαθὰ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ προελθοῦσι θεοῖς, ἐπιτροπεύῃ δὲ τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ τὴν ὀγδόην

if one desired to comprehend, as far as the mind may, this eternal nature from the point of view of time, one would understand most easily of how many blessings for the world throughout eternity he is the cause, even Helios he King of the All who shines without cessation. Now I am aware that the great philosopher Plato,[1] and after him a man who, though he is later in time, is by no means inferior to him in genius—I mean Iamblichus[2] of Chalcis, who through his writings initiated me not only into other philosophic doctrines but these also—I am aware, I say, that they employed as a hypothesis the conception of a generated world, and assumed for it, so to speak, a creation in time in order that the magnitude of the works that arise from Helios might be recognised. But apart from the fact that I fall short altogether of their ability, I must by no means be so rash; especially since the glorious hero Iamblichus thought it was not without risk to assume, even as a bare hypothesis, a temporal limit for the creation of the world. Nay rather, the god came forth from an eternal cause, or rather brought forth all things from everlasting, engendering by his divine will and with untold speed and unsurpassed power, from the invisible all things now visible in present time. And then he assigned as his own station the mid-heavens, in order that from all sides he may bestow equal blessings on the gods who came forth by his agency and in company with him; and that he may guide the seven spheres[3] in the heavens and the eighth

[1] *Timaeus* 37 C; when the Creator had made the universe, he invented Time as an attribute of "divided substance."

[2] For Julian's debt to Iamblichus cf. 150 D, 157 B, C.

[3] Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Helios, Aphrodite, Hermes, Selene are the seven planets; cf. 149 D. Though Helios guides the others he is counted with them.

οὐρανοῦ κυκλοφορίαν, ἐνάτην τε οἶμαι δημιουργίαν τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ συνεχεῖ διαιωνίως ἀνακυκλουμένην γένεσιν. οἵ τε γὰρ πλάνητες εὔδηλον ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν χορεύοντες μέτρον ἔχουσι D
τῆς κινήσεως τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τόνδε τοιάνδε περὶ τὰ σχήματα συμφωνίαν, ὅ τε ὅλος οὐρανὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα συναρμοζόμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὰ μέρη θεῶν ἐστιν ἐξ Ἡλίου πλήρης. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὅδε πέντε μὲν κύκλων ἄρχων κατ᾽ οὐρανόν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιὼν ἐν τρισὶ τρεῖς γεννᾷ τὰς χάριτας· οἱ λειπόμενοι δὲ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης εἰσὶ πλάστιγγες. ἀξύνετον 1
ἴσως λέγω τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥσπερ δέον μόνον τὰ συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα λέγειν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὡς ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι, παντελῶς ξένον. οἱ Διόσκουροι τίνες ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὦ σοφώτατοι καὶ ἀβασανίστως τὰ πολλὰ παραδεχόμενοι; οὐχ ἑτερήμεροι[1] λέγονται, διότι μὴ θέμις ὁρᾶσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας; ὑμεῖς ὅπως ἀκούετε εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς χθὲς καὶ τήμερον. εἶτα τί νοεῖ τοῦτο, πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων; ἐφαρμόσωμεν αὐτὸ φύσει

[1] *Odyssey* 11, 303; Philo Judaeus, *De Decalogo* 2. 190, τόν τε οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίρια τῷ λόγῳ διχῇ διανείμαντες, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς τὸ δ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκούρους ἐκάλεσαν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἑτερημέρου ζωῆς αὐτῶν προστερατευσάμενοι διήγημα.

sphere[1] also, yes and as I believe the ninth creation too, namely our world which revolves for ever in a continuous cycle of birth and death. For it is evident that the planets, as they dance in a circle about him, preserve as the measure of their motion a harmony between this god and their own movements such as I shall now describe; and that the whole heaven also, which adapts itself to him in all its parts, is full of gods who proceed from Helios. For this god is lord of five zones in the heavens; and when he traverses three of these he begets in those three the three Graces.[2] And the remaining zones are the scales of mighty Necessity.[3] To the Greeks what I say is perhaps incomprehensible—as though one were obliged to say to them only what is known and familiar. Yet not even is this altogether strange to them as one might suppose. For who, then, in your opinion, are the Dioscuri,[4] O ye most wise, ye who accept without question so many of your traditions? Do you not call them "alternate of days," because they may not both be seen on the same day? It is obvious that by this you mean "yesterday" and "to-day." But what does this mean, in the name of those same Dioscuri? Let me apply it to some

[1] *i.e.* the fixed stars; cf. Iamblichus, *Theologumena arithmeticae* 56. 4 ἡ περιέχουσα τὰ πάντα σφαῖρα ὀγδόη, "the eighth sphere that encompasses all the rest."

[2] The Graces are often associated with Spring; Julian seems to be describing obscurely the annual course of the sun.

[3] Necessity played an important part in the cult of Mithras and was sometimes identified with the constellation Virgo who holds the scales of Justice.

[4] For the adoption of the Dioscuri into the Mithraic cult see Cumont. Julian does not give his own view, though he rejects that of the later Greek astronomers. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 21. 22 identifies them with the sun.

τινὶ καὶ πράγματι, κενὸν[1] ἵνα μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόητον λέγωμεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εὕροιμεν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ὑπέλαβον εἰρῆσθαί τινες πρὸς τῶν θεολόγων ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς τὰ δύο λόγον ἔχει τινά· πῶς γάρ ἐστιν ἑτερήμερον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥᾴδιον, ἡμέρας ἑκάστης ἀνεπαισθήτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν φωτισμὸν αὐτῶν παραυξήσεως γινομένης. σκεψώμεθα δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοὶ καινοτομεῖν ἴσως τῳ δοκοῦμεν. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνοι μετέχειν ὀρθῶς ἂν ῥηθεῖεν, ὁπόσοις ἴσος ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡλίου πορείας χρόνος ἐν ἑνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί. ὁράτω τις οὖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἑτερήμερον τοῖς κύκλοις ἐφαρμόζει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς τροπικοῖς. ὑπολήψεταί τις· οὐκ ἴσον ἐστιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ φαίνονται, καὶ τοῖς τὴν ἀντίσκιον οἰκοῦσι γῆν ἀμφοτέροις ἀμφότεροι, τῶν δὲ οἱ θάτερον ὁρῶντες οὐδαμῶς ὁρῶσι θάτερον.

'Αλλ' ἵνα μὴ πλείω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγων διατρίβω, τὰς τροπὰς ἐργαζόμενος, ὥσπερ ἴσμεν, πατὴρ ὡρῶν ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀπολείπων δὲ οὐδαμῶς τοὺς πόλους 'Ωκεανὸς ἂν εἴη, διπλῆς ἡγεμὼν οὐσίας. μῶν ἀσαφές τι καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν, ἐπείπερ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτὸ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἔφη·

'Ωκεανοῦ, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται,[2]

θνητῶν τε θεῶν θ', ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς φαίη, μακάρων;

[1] κενὸν Hertlein suggests, καινὸν Mb, κοινὸν MSS.
[2] *Iliad* 14. 246.

natural object, so that I may not say anything empty and senseless. But no such object could one find, however carefully one might search for it. For the theory that some have supposed to be held by the theogonists, that the two hemispheres of the universe are meant, has no meaning. For how one could call each one of the hemispheres "alternate of days" is not easy to imagine, since the increase of their light in each separate day is imperceptible. But now let us consider a question on which some may think that I am innovating. We say correctly that those persons for whom the time of the sun's course above the earth is the same in one and the same month share the same day. Consider therefore whether the expression "alternate of days" cannot be applied both to the tropics and the other, the polar, circles. But some one will object that it does not apply equally to both. For though the former are always visible, and both of them are visible at once to those who inhabit that part of the earth where shadows are cast in an opposite direction,[1] yet in the case of the latter those who see the one do not see the other.

However, not to dwell too long on the same subject; since he causes the winter and summer solstice, Helios is, as we know, the father of the seasons; and since he never forsakes the poles, he is Oceanus, the lord of two-fold substance. My meaning here is not obscure, is it, seeing that before my time Homer said the same thing? "Oceanus who is the father of all things": yes, for mortals and for the

[1] *i.e.* the torrid zone. On the equator in the winter months shadows fall due north at noon, in the summer months due south; this is more or less true of the whole torrid zone; cf. *ἀμφίσκιος* which has the same meaning.

ἀληθῶς. ἓν γὰρ τῶν παντων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ πέφυκεν οὐσίας ἔκγονον. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς πόλους; βούλει σοι φράσω; καίτοι σιωπᾶσθαι κρεῖσσον ἦν· εἰρήσεται δὲ ὅμως.

Λέγεται γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἑτοίμως ἀποδέχονται, ὁ δίσκος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστρου φέρεσθαι πολὺ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ὑψηλότερος· καὶ οὕτω δὴ[1] τῶν μὲν πλανωμένων οὐχ ἕξει τὸ μέσον, τριῶν δὲ τῶν κόσμων κατὰ τὰς τελεστικὰς ὑποθέσεις, εἰ χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν ὑποθέσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῦτα μὲν δόγματα, τὰ δὲ τῶν σφαιρικῶν ὑποθέσεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων μεγάλων δή τινων ἀκούσαντές φασιν, οἱ δὲ ὑποτίθενται τὸ πιθανὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα συμφωνίας. αἰνεῖν μὲν οὖν ἄξιον καὶ τούσδε, πιστεύειν δὲ ἐκείνοις ὅτῳ βέλτιον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ παίζων καὶ σπουδάζων ἄγαμαί τε καὶ τεθαύμακα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ, φασί.

Πολὺ δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔφην πλῆθός ἐστι περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν θεῶν, οὓς κατενόησαν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν μὴ παρέργως μηδὲ ὥσπερ τὰ βοσκήματα θεωροῦντες.[2] τοὺς τρεῖς γὰρ τετραχῇ τέμνων διὰ τῆς τοῦ ζῳο-

[1] δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.
[2] cf. 143 B and note.

blessed gods too, as he himself would say; and what he says is true. For there is no single thing in the whole of existence that is not the offspring of the substance of Oceanus. But what has that to do with the poles? Shall I tell you? It were better indeed to keep silence[1]; but for all that I will speak.

Some say then, even though all men are not ready to believe it, that the sun travels in the starless heavens far above the region of the fixed stars. And on this theory he will not be stationed midmost among the planets but midway between the three worlds: that is, according to the hypothesis of the mysteries, if indeed one ought to use the word "hypothesis" and not rather say "established truths," using the word "hypothesis" for the study of the heavenly bodies. For the priests of the mysteries tell us what they have been taught by the gods or mighty daemons, whereas the astronomers make plausible hypotheses from the harmony that they observe in the visible spheres. It is proper, no doubt, to approve the astronomers as well, but where any man thinks it better to believe the priests of the mysteries, him I admire and revere, both in jest and earnest. And so much for that, as the saying is.[2]

Now besides those whom I have mentioned, there is in the heavens a great multitude of gods who have been recognised as such by those who survey the heavens, not casually, nor like cattle. For as he divides the three spheres by four through the zodiac,[3]

[1] For the affectation of mystery cf. 152 B, 159 A, 172 D.
[2] Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 4, quotes this phrase as peculiarly Platonic; cf. Plato, *Laws* 676 A.
[3] Literally "life-bringer," Aristotle's phrase for the zodiac.

φόρου κύκλου πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν κοινωνίας τοῦτον αὖθις τὸν ζῳοφόρον εἰς δώδεκα θεῶν δυνάμεις διαιρεῖ, καὶ μέντοι τούτων ἕκαστον εἰς τρεῖς, ὥστε ποιεῖν ἓξ ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα. ἔνθεν οἶμαι καθήκει ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ἐξ οὐρανῶν τριπλῆ χαρίτων δόσις, ἐκ I
τῶν κύκλων, οὓς ὁ θεὸς ὅδε τετραχῇ τέμνων τὴν τετραπλῆν ἐπιπέμπει τῶν ὡρῶν ἀγλαΐαν, αἳ δὴ τὰς τροπὰς ἔχουσι τῶν καιρῶν. κύκλον τοι καὶ αἱ Χάριτες ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων μιμοῦνται. χαριτοδότης[1] δέ ἐστιν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐς ταὐτὸ λεγόμενος Ἡλίῳ συμβασιλεύειν. τί οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸν Ὧρον λέγω καὶ τἆλλα θεῶν ὀνόματα, τὰ πάντα Ἡλίῳ προσήκοντα; συνῆκαν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὧν ὁ θεὸς ὅδε ἐργάζεται, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν 1
τοῖς νοεροῖς ἀγαθοῖς τελειωσάμενος καὶ μεταδοὺς αὐτῷ τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους, ἀρξάμενοί τε ἐκεῖθεν ὅλον τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ μέρη τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἁδρᾷ[2] δόσει. πᾶσαν γὰρ ἐπιτροπεύει[3] κίνησιν ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ κόσμου λήξεως· φύσιν τε καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ πᾶν ὅ,τι ποτέ ἐστι, πάντα πανταχοῦ τελειοῦται. τὴν δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν τῶν θεῶν εἰς μίαν ἡγεμονικὴν ἕνωσιν συντάξας Ἀθηνᾷ 1
Προνοίᾳ παρέδωκεν, ἣν ὁ μὲν μῦθός φησιν ἐκ τῆς

[1] χαριτοδότης Spanheim, χαριδότης Hertlein, MSS.
[2] ἁδρᾷ Hertlein suggests, ἀνδρῶν MSS.
[3] ἐπιτροπεύει Wright, ἐπιτροπεύουσι Hertlein, MSS, lacuna Petavius.

which is associated with every one of the three, so he divides the zodiac also into twelve divine powers; and again he divides every one of these twelve by three, so as to make thirty-six gods in[1] all. Hence, as I believe, there descends from above, from the heavens to us, a three-fold gift of the Graces: I mean from the spheres, for this god, by thus dividing them by four, sends to us the four-fold glory of the seasons, which express the changes of time. And indeed on our earth the Graces imitate a circle[2] in their statues. And it is Dionysus who is the giver of the Graces, and in this very connection he is said to reign with Helios. Why should I go on to speak to you of Horus[3] and of the other names of gods, which all belong to Helios? For from his works men have learned to know this god, who makes the whole heavens perfect through the gift of intellectual blessings, and gives it a share of intelligible beauty; and taking the heavens as their starting-point, they have learned to know him both as a whole and his parts also, from his abundant bestowal of good gifts. For he exercises control over all movement, even to the lowest plane of the universe. And everywhere he makes all things perfect, nature and soul and everything that exists. And marshalling together this great army of the gods into a single commanding unity, he handed it over to Athene Pronoia[4] who,

[1] cf. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen* III. 2^4 p. 753, notes.

[2] There is a play on the word κύκλος, which means both "sphere" and "circle."

[3] The Egyptian sun-god, whose worship was introduced first into Greece and later at Rome.

[4] Athene as goddess of Forethought was worshipped at Delphi, but her earlier epithet was προναία "whose statue is

τοῦ Διὸς γενέσθαι κορυφῆς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου προβληθῆναι συνεχομένην ἐν αὐτῷ, ταύτῃ διαφέροντες τοῦ μύθου, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκροτάτου μέρους, ὅλην δὲ ἐξ ὅλου· ἐπεὶ τἆλλά γε οὐδὲν διαφέρειν Ἡλίου Δία νομίζοντες ὁμολογοῦμεν τῇ παλαιᾷ φήμῃ. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ Πρόνοιαν Ἀθηνᾶν λέγοντες οὐ καινοτομοῦμεν, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἀκούομεν·

Ἵκετο δ' ἐς Πυθῶνα καὶ ἐς Γλαυκῶπα Προνοίην.

οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐφαίνετο Ἀθηνᾶ Πρόνοια σύνθρονος Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ νομιζομένῳ μηδὲν Ἡλίου διαφέρειν. μή ποτε οὖν καὶ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος· ἦν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, θεόληπτος· ἀπεμαντεύσατο πολλαχοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως· C

Τιοίμην δ' ὡς τίετ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,[1]

ὑπὸ Διὸς δήπουθεν, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡλίῳ; καθάπερ δ'[2] ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων ἐπικοινωνεῖ διὰ τῆς ἁπλότητος τῶν νοήσεων Ἡλίῳ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν νομιστέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεξαμένην τὴν οὐσίαν οὖσάν τε αὐτοῦ τελείαν νόησιν συνάπτειν μὲν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἥλιον θεοὺς αὖ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων Ἡλίῳ δίχα συγχύσεως εἰς D

[1] *Iliad* 8. 538; 13. 827.
[2] δ' Hertlein adds.

as the legend says, sprang from the head of Zeus, but I say that she was sent forth from Helios whole from the whole of him, being contained within him; though I disagree with the legend only so far as I assert that she came forth not from his highest part, but whole from the whole of him. For in other respects, since I believe that Zeus is in no wise different from Helios, I agree with that ancient tradition. And in using this very phrase Athene Pronoia, I am not innovating, if I rightly understand the words: "He came to Pytho and to grey-eyed Pronoia."[1] This proves that the ancients also thought that Athene Pronoia shared the throne of Apollo, who, as we believe, differs in no way from Helios. Indeed, did not Homer by divine inspiration—for he was, we may suppose, possessed by a god—reveal this truth, when he says often in his poems: "May I be honoured even as Athene and Apollo were honoured"—by Zeus, that is to say, who is identical with Helios? And just as King Apollo, through the singleness of his thoughts, is associated with Helios, so also we must believe that Athene[2] has received her nature from Helios, and that she is his intelligence in perfect form: and so she binds together the gods who are assembled about Helios and brings them without confusion into unity with Helios, the King of the All: and she distributes and

in front of the temple"; cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 21, Herodotus 8. 37; late writers often confuse these forms. Julian applies the epithet πρόνοια to the mother of the gods 179 A, and to Prometheus 182 D; cf. 131 C.

[1] This verse was quoted from an unknown source by Eustathius on *Iliad* 1. p. 83. "The Grey-eyed" a name of Athene.

[2] On Athene cf. *Oration* 7. 230 A; *Against the Christians* 235 C.

ἕνωσιν, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν ζωὴν
ἀπ' ἄκρας ἁψῖδος οὐρανοῦ διὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ κύκλων
ἄχρι τῆς Σελήνης νέμουσαν ἐποχετεύειν, ἣν ἡ θεὸς 151
ἥδε τῶν κυκλικῶν οὖσαν σωμάτων ἐσχάτην ἐπλή-
ρωσε τῆς φρονήσεως, ὑφ' ἧς ἡ Σελήνη τά τε ὑπὲρ
τὸν οὐρανὸν θεωρεῖ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτὴν
κοσμοῦσα τὴν ὕλην τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ θηρι-
ῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ ταραχῶδες καὶ ἄτακτον. ἀνθρώ-
ποις δὲ ἀγαθὰ δίδωσιν Ἀθηνᾶ σοφίαν τό[1] τε
νοεῖν καὶ τὰς δημιουργικὰς τέχνας. κατοικεῖ δὲ
τὰς ἀκροπόλεις αὕτη δήπουθεν καταστησαμένη
τὴν πολιτικὴν διὰ σοφίας κοινωνίαν. ὀλίγα ἔτι B
περὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἣν συνεφάπτεσθαι τῆς δημιουρ-
γίας τῷ θεῷ Φοινίκων ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ λόγιοι, καὶ
ἐγὼ πείθομαι. ἔστι δὴ οὖν αὕτη σύγκρασις τῶν
οὐρανίων θεῶν, καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτῶν ἔτι φιλία
καὶ ἕνωσις. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὖσα καὶ συμπερι-
θέουσα καὶ πλησιάζουσα πληροῖ μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν
εὐκρασίας, ἐνδίδωσι δὲ τὸ γόνιμον τῇ γῇ, προμη-
θουμένη καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς ἀειγενεσίας τῶν ζῴων, ἧς ὁ
μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος ἔχει τὴν πρωτουργὸν αἰτίαν,
Ἀφροδίτη δὲ αὐτῷ συναίτιος, ἡ θέλγουσα μὲν τὰς C
ψυχὰς ἡμῶν σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ, καταπέμπουσα δὲ
εἰς γῆν ἐξ αἰθέρος αὐγὰς ἡδίστας καὶ ἀκηράτους

[1] τὸ Hertlein adds.

is the channel for stainless and pure life throughout the seven spheres, from the highest vault of the heavens as far as Selene the Moon:[1] for Selene is the last of the heavenly spheres which Athene fills with wisdom: and by her aid Selene beholds the intelligible which is higher than the heavens, and adorns with its forms the realm of matter that lies below her, and thus she does away with its savagery and confusion and disorder. Moreover to mankind Athene gives the blessings of wisdom and intelligence and the creative arts. And surely she dwells in the capitols of cities because, through her wisdom, she has established the community of the state. I have still to say a few words about Aphrodite, who, as the wise men among the Phoenicians affirm, and as I believe, assists Helios in his creative function. She is, in very truth, a synthesis of the heavenly gods, and in their harmony she is the spirit of love and unity.[2] For she[3] is very near to Helios, and when she pursues the same course as he and approaches him, she fills the skies with fair weather and gives generative power to the earth: for she herself takes thought for the continuous birth of living things. And though of that continuous birth King Helios is the primary creative cause, yet Aphrodite is the joint cause with him, she who enchants our souls with her charm and sends down to earth from the upper air rays of light most sweet and stainless, aye,

[1] cf. 152 D. Julian derives his theory of the position and functions of the moon from Iamblichus; cf. Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 258 f.

[2] cf. 154 A, and Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 155 F, 259 B, where Aphrodite is called "the binding goddess" συνδετικήν, and "harmoniser" συναρμοστικήν.

[3] *i.e.* as the planet Venus.

αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσίου στιλπνοτέρας. ἔτι ἐπιμετρῆσαι[1] βούλομαι τῆς Φοινίκων θεολογίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ μάτην, ὁ λόγος προϊὼν δείξει. οἱ τὴν Ἔμεσαν[2] οἰκοῦντες, ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μόνιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄζιζον συγκαθιδρύουσιν. αἰνίτ- D
τεσθαί φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, παρ᾽ οὗ καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἐλάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Μόνιμος μὲν Ἑρμῆς εἴη, Ἄζιζος δὲ Ἄρης, Ἡλίου πάρεδροι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύοντες τόπῳ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαῦτά ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐπιτελούμενα μέχρι τῶν τῆς γῆς προήκει τελευταίων ὅρων· ὅσα δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν Σελήνην ἐργάζεται, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη τὰ πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι. πλὴν ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ ταῦτα ῥητέον. οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὶ πρότερον μνημονεύσας, ὁπηνίκα ἠξίουν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἀφανῆ περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σκοπεῖν οὐσίας, ὁ λόγος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖ με καὶ νῦν ἐν τάξει περὶ αὐτῶν δηλῶσαι.

Καθάπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἔχειν ἔφαμεν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἥλιον, πολὺ περὶ τὴν ἀμέριστον οὐσίαν ἑαυτοῦ πλῆθος ἑνοειδῶς ἔχοντα τῶν θεῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ἃ δὴ τὴν κύκλῳ διαιωνίαν B

[1] ἐπιμετρῆσαι Hertlein suggests, μετριάσαι MSS.
[2] Ἔμεσαν Spanheim, cf. 154 B, Ἔδεσσαν MSS.

more lustrous than gold itself. I desire to mete out to you still more of the theology of the Phoenicians, and whether it be to some purpose my argument as it proceeds will show. The inhabitants of Emesa,[1] a place from time immemorial sacred to Helios, associate with Helios in their temples Monimos and Azizos.[2] Iamblichus, from whom I have taken this and all besides, a little from a great store, says that the secret meaning to be interpreted is that Monimos is Hermes and Azizos Ares, the assessors of Helios, who are the channel for many blessings to the region of our earth.

Such then are the works of Helios in the heavens, and, when completed by means of the gods whom I have named, they reach even unto the furthest bounds of the earth. But to tell the number of all his works in the region below the moon would take too long. Nevertheless I must describe them also in a brief summary. Now I am aware that I mentioned them earlier when I claimed[3] that from things visible we could observe the invisible properties of the god's substance, but the argument demands that I should expound them now also, in their proper order.

I said then that Helios holds sway among the intellectual gods in that he unites into one, about his own undivided substance, a great multitude of the gods: and further, I demonstrated that among the gods whom we can perceive, who revolve

[1] cf. *Caesars* 313 A, *Misopogon* 357 C. Emesa in Syria was famous for its temple to Baal, the sun-god. The Emperor Heliogabalus (218–222 A.D.) was born at Emesa and was, as his name indicates, a priest of Baal, whose worship he attempted to introduce at Rome.

[2] The "strong god," identified with the star Lucifer.

[3] 133 D, 138 B.

πορεύεται μάλα εὐδαίμονα πορείαν, ἀπεδείκνυμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ κύριον, ἐνδιδόντα μὲν τὸ γόνιμον τῇ φύσει,[1] πληροῦντα δὲ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ὥσπερ τῆς φαινομένης αὐγῆς οὕτω δὲ καὶ μυρίων ἀγαθῶν ἀφανῶν ἄλλων, τελειούμενα δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν θεῶν ἀγαθὰ χορηγούμενα, καὶ πρό γε τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορρήτου καὶ θείας αὐτοῦ τελειουμένους ἐνεργείας· οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἐν γενέσει τόπον θεούς τινας ἐπιβεβηκέναι νομιστέον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου C
συνεχομένους, οἳ τὴν τετραπλῆν τῶν στοιχείων κυβερνῶντες φύσιν, περὶ ἃς ἐστήρικται ταῦτα ψυχὰς μετὰ τῶν τριῶν κρειττόνων ἐνοικοῦσι γενῶν. αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς μερισταῖς ψυχαῖς ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν αἴτιος, κρίσιν τε αὐταῖς προτείνων καὶ δίκῃ κατευθύνων καὶ ἀποκαθαίρων λαμπρότητι; τὴν ὅλην δὲ οὐχ οὗτος φύσιν, ἐνδιδοὺς ἄνωθεν αὐτῇ τὸ γόνιμον, κινεῖ καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖ; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς μερισταῖς φύσεσιν οὐ τῆς εἰς τέλος πορείας οὗτός D
ἐστιν ἀληθῶς αἴτιος; ἄνθρωπον γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου γεννᾶσθαί φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ἡλίου.[2] ταὐτὸν δὴ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὅσα τῶν μεριστῶν ἐστι φύσεων ἔργα, περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου προσήκει διανοεῖσθαι. τί δέ; οὐχ ἡμῖν ὄμβρους καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μεταρσίοις γινόμενα τῷ διττῷ τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως οἷον ὕλῃ χρώμενος ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἐργάζεται; θερμαίνων γὰρ 152
τὴν γῆν ἀτμίδα καὶ καπνὸν ἕλκει, γίνεται δὲ ἐκ

[1] τὸ γόνιμον τῇ φύσει Marcilius, cf. 150 B, 151 C, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.
[2] *Physics* 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 131 C.

eternally in their most blessed path, he is leader and lord; since he bestows on their nature its generative power, and fills the whole heavens not only with visible rays of light but with countless other blessings that are invisible; and, further, that the blessings which are abundantly supplied by the other visible gods are made perfect by him, and that even prior to this the visible gods themselves are made perfect by his unspeakable and divine activity. In the same manner we must believe that on this our world of generation certain gods have alighted who are linked together with Helios: and these gods guide the four-fold nature of the elements, and inhabit, together with the three higher races,[1] those souls which are upborne by the elements. But for the divided souls[2] also, of how many blessings is he the cause! For he extends to them the faculty of judging, and guides them with justice, and purifies them by his brilliant light. Again, does he not set in motion the whole of nature and kindle life therein, by bestowing on it generative power from on high? But for the divided natures also, is not he the cause that they journey to their appointed end?[3] For Aristotle says that man is begotten by man and the sun together. Accordingly the same theory about King Helios must surely apply to all the other activities of the divided souls. Again, does he not produce for us rain and wind and the clouds in the skies, by employing, as though it were matter, the two kinds of vapour? For when he heats the earth he draws up steam and smoke, and from these there arise not only the

[1] cf. 145 c. [2] cf. 145 c.
[3] *i.e.* their ascent after death to the gods.

τούτων οὐ τὰ μετάρσια μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ γῆς πάθη, σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα.

Τί οὖν περὶ[1] τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπέξειμι μακρότερα, ἐξὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας ἤδη βαδίζειν ὑμνήσαντα πρότερον ὅσα ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις Ἥλιος ἀγαθά; γινόμενοι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρεφόμεθα παρ' ἐκείνου. τὰ μὲν οὖν θειότερα καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ψυχαῖς δίδωσιν ἀπολύων αὐτὰς τοῦ σώματος, εἶτα ἐπανάγων ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ συγγενεῖς οὐσίας, καὶ τὸ λεπτὸν καὶ εὔτονον τῆς θείας αὐγῆς οἷον ὄχημα τῆς εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ἀσφαλοῦς διδόμενον καθόδου ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμνείσθω τε ἄλλοις ἀξίως καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πιστευέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ δεικνύσθω· τὰ δὲ ὅσα γνώριμα πέφυκε τοῖς πᾶσιν οὐκ ὀκνητέον ἐπεξελθεῖν. οὐρανόν φησι Πλάτων[2] ἡμῖν γενέσθαι σοφίας διδάσκαλον. ἐνθένδε γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ κατενοήσαμεν C
φύσιν, ἧς τὸ διαφέρον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἡλίου περιόδου κατενοήσαμεν. φησί τοι καὶ αὐτὸς Πλάτων ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πρότερον. εἶτα ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς σελήνης, ὃ δὴ δίδοται τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ παρ' ἡλίου, μετὰ τοῦτο προήλθομεν ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς τοιαύτης συνέσεως, ἁπανταχοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον στοχαζόμενοι συμφωνίας. ὅπερ αὐτός πού φησιν,[3] ὡς ἄρα τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐπίπονον ὂν φύσει θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ D
τὰς Μούσας συγχορευτάς. ἐφάνη δὲ ἡμῖν Ἥλιος

[1] περὶ Hertlein suggests, ἐπὶ MSS.
[2] *Republic* 529, 530; *Epinomis* 977 A.
[3] *Laws* 653 C, D, 665 A.

clouds but also all the physical changes on our earth, both great and small.

But why do I deal with the same questions at such length, when I am free at last to come to my goal, though not till I have first celebrated all the blessings that Helios has given to mankind? For from him are we born, and by him are we nourished. But his more divine gifts, and all that he bestows on our souls when he frees them from the body and then lifts them up on high to the region of those substances that are akin to the god; and the fineness and vigour of his divine rays, which are assigned as a sort of vehicle for the safe descent of our souls into this world of generation; all this, I say, let others celebrate in fitting strains, but let me believe it rather than demonstrate its truth. However, I need not hesitate to discuss so much as is known to all. Plato says that the sky is our instructor in wisdom. For from its contemplation we have learned to know the nature of number, whose distinguishing characteristics we know only from the course of the sun. Plato himself says that day and night were created first.[1] And next, from observing the moon's light, which was bestowed on the goddess by Helios, we later progressed still further in the understanding of these matters: in every case conjecturing the harmony of all things with this god. For Plato himself says somewhere that our race was by nature doomed to toil, and so the gods pitied us and gave us Dionysus and the Muses as playfellows. And we recognised that Helios is their common lord,

[1] *i.e.* as a unit of measurement; *Timaeus* 39 B, 47 A.

τούτων κοινὸς ἡγεμών, Διονύσου μὲν πατὴρ ὑμνούμενος, ἡγεμὼν δὲ Μουσῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ συμβασιλεύων Ἀπόλλων οὐ πανταχοῦ μὲν ἀνῆκε τῆς γῆς χρηστήρια, σοφίαν δὲ ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις ἔνθεον, ἐκόσμησε δὲ ἱεροῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς τὰς πόλεις θεσμοῖς; οὗτος ἡμέρωσε μὲν διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποικιῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης, παρεσκεύασε δὲ ῥᾷον ὑπακοῦσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἔχουσι
καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ γένος μόνον Ἑλληνικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 15:
θεσμοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐπιστίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος Ἑλληνικὴν καταστησαμένοις τε καὶ φυλάξασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν κόσμον οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄριστα πολιτευσαμένων πόλεων καταστησαμένοις φαυλότερον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπασῶν, ὅσαι γε ἐν χρήσει γεγόνασι πολιτεῖαι, κρείσσονα· ἀνθ᾿ ὧν οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγνων τὴν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα γένος τε καὶ πολιτείαν.

Τί ἔτι σοι λέγω, πῶς τῆς ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας B
πάντων προυνόησε τὸν σωτῆρα τῶν ὅλων ἀπογεννήσας Ἀσκληπιόν, ὅπως δὲ ἀρετὴν ἔδωκε παντοίαν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀθηνᾷ συγκαταπέμψας ἡμῖν, κηδεμόνα μόνον οὐχὶ νόμον θέμενος, πρὸς μηδὲν ἕτερον χρῆσθαι τῇ μίξει ἢ πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν[1] τοῦ ὁμοίου; διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὰς περιόδους αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ φυόμενα καὶ τὰ παντοδαπῶν
ζῴων φῦλα κινεῖται πρὸς ἀπογέννησιν τοῦ ὁμοίου. C
τί χρὴ τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φῶς σεμνῦναι;

[1] γέννησιν Mau, γένεσιν MSS, Hertlein.

since he is celebrated as the father of Dionysus and the leader of the Muses. And has not Apollo, who is his colleague in empire, set up oracles in every part of the earth, and given to men inspired wisdom, and regulated their cities by means of religious and political ordinances? And he has civilised the greater part of the world by means of Greek colonies, and so made it easier for the world to be governed by the Romans. For the Romans themselves not only belong to the Greek race, but also the sacred ordinances and the pious belief in the gods which they have established and maintain are, from beginning to end, Greek. And beside this they have established a constitution not inferior to that of any one of the best governed states, if indeed it be not superior to all others that have ever been put into practice. For which reason I myself recognise that our city is Greek, both in descent and as to its constitution.

Shall I now go on to tell you how Helios took thought for the health and safety of all men by begetting Asclepios[1] to be the saviour of the whole world? and how he bestowed on us every kind of excellence by sending down to us Aphrodite together with Athene, and thus laid down for our protection what is almost a law, that we should only unite to beget our kind? Surely it is for this reason that, in agreement with the course of the sun, all plants and all the tribes of living things are aroused to bring forth their kind. What need is there for me to glorify his beams and his light? For surely

[1] cf. 144 C: *Against the Christians* 200, 235 B.C. Asclepios plays an important part in Julian's religion, and may have been intentionally opposed, as the son of Helios-Mithras and the "saviour of the world," to Jesus Christ.

νὺξ γοῦν ἀσέληνός τε καὶ ἄναστρος ὅπως ἐστὶ φοβερά, ἆρα ἐννοεῖ τις, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν, ὁπόσον ἔχομεν ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς, τεκμήρηται; τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ συνεχὲς παρέχων καὶ ἀμεσολάβητον νυκτὶ ἐν οἷς χρὴ τόποις ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης τοῖς ἄνω, ἐκεχειρίαν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς τῶν πόνων δίδωσιν. οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο πέρας τοῦ
λόγου, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξιέναι τις ἐθελήσειε τὰ τοι- D
αῦτα. ἓν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὃ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε λαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἤτοι παρὰ μόνου τέλειον, ἢ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τελειούμενον.

Ἡμῖν δέ ἐστιν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τῆς πόλεως. οἰκεῖ γοῦν αὐτῆς οὐ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μόνον μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων πατὴρ ὑμνούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ τῷ Παλλαντίῳ λόφῳ καὶ Ἥλιος αὐτὸς τοῦτο τὸ[1] κοινὸν
ὄνομα πᾶσι καὶ γνώριμον. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ πάντη 15
καὶ πάντα προσήκομεν οἱ Ῥωμυλίδαι τε καὶ Αἰνεάδαι, πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἐρῶ βραχέα τὰ γνωριμώτατα. γέγονε, φασίν, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείας, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ὑπουργὸς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συγγενής. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κτίστην ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως Ἄρεως ἡ φήμη παρέδωκε παῖδα, πιστουμένη τὸ παράδοξον τῶν λόγων διὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπακολουθησάντων σημείων. ὑπέσχε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασί, μαζὸν θήλεια λύκος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ἄρης Ἄζιζος λεγόμενος

[1] τὸ Hertlein suggests.

everyone knows how terrible is night without a moon or stars, so that from this he can calculate how great a boon for us is the light of the sun? And this very light he supplies at night, without ceasing, and directly, from the moon in those upper spaces where it is needed, while he grants us through the night a truce from toil. But there would be no limit to the account if one should endeavour to describe all his gifts of this sort. For there is no single blessing in our lives which we do not receive as a gift from this god, either perfect from him alone, or, through the other gods, perfected by him.

Moreover he is the founder of our city.[1] For not only does Zeus, who is glorified as the father of all things, inhabit its citadel[2] together with Athene and Aphrodite, but Apollo also dwells on the Palatine Hill, and Helios himself under this name of his which is commonly known to all and familiar to all. And I could say much to prove that we, the sons of Romulus and Aeneas, are in every way and in all respects connected with him, but I will mention briefly only what is most familiar. According to the legend, Aeneas is the son of Aphrodite, who is subordinate to Helios and is his kinswoman. And the tradition has been handed down that the founder of our city was the son of Ares, and the paradoxical element in the tale has been believed because of the portents which later appeared to support it. For a she-wolf, they say, gave him suck. Now I am aware that Ares, who is called

[1] Rome. [2] This refers to the famous temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline; cf. *Oration* I. 29 D. The three shrines in this temple were dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva and Juno, but Julian ignores Juno because he wishes to introduce Aphrodite in connection with Aeneas.

ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἔμεσαν[1] Σύρων Ἡλίου B
προπομπεύει, καίπερ εἰδὼς καὶ προειπὼν ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ. τοῦ χάριν δὲ ὁ λύκος Ἄρει μᾶλλον, οὐχὶ δὲ Ἡλίῳ προσήκει; καίτοι λυκάβαντά φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον· ὀνομάζει δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ Ὅμηρος μόνον οὐδὲ οἱ γνώριμοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεός· διανύων γάρ φησιν

Ὀρχηθμῷ λυκάβαντα δυωδεκάμηνα κέλευθα.

βούλει οὖν ἔτι σοι φράσω μεῖζον τεκμήριον, C
ὅτι ἄρα ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν οἰκιστὴς οὐχ ὑπ' Ἄρεως κατεπέμφθη μόνον, ἀλλ' ἴσως αὐτῷ τῆς μὲν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευῆς συνεπελάβετο δαίμων ἀρήιος καὶ γενναῖος, ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπιφοιτῆσαι τῇ Σιλβίᾳ λουτρὰ τῇ θεῷ φερούσῃ, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐξ Ἡλίου κατῆλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεοῦ Κυρίνου·
πειστέον γὰρ οἶμαι τῇ φήμῃ. σύνοδος ἀκριβὴς D
τῶν τὴν ἐμφανῆ καταλειμαμένων βασιλείαν Ἡλίου τε καὶ Σελήνης ὥσπερ οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν κατήγαγεν, οὕτω καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ὃν[2] ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐδέξατο, τὸ θνητὸν ἀφανίσασα πυρὶ κεραυνίῳ τοῦ σώματος. οὕτω προδήλως ἡ τῶν περιγείων

[1] Ἔμεσαν Spanheim, Ἔδεσσαν MSS, Hertlein; cf. 150 c.
[2] ὃν Marcilius, ἣν MSS, Hertlein.

Azizos by the Syrians who inhabit Emesa, precedes Helios in the sacred procession, but I mentioned it before, so I think I may let that pass. But why is the wolf sacred only to Ares and not to Helios? Yet men call the period of a year "lycabas,"[1] which is derived from "wolf." And not only Homer[2] and the famous men of Greece call it by this name, but also the god himself, when he says: "With dancing does he bring to a close his journey of twelve months, even the lycabas." Now do you wish me to bring forward a still greater proof that the founder of our city was sent down to earth, not by Ares alone, though perhaps some noble daemon with the character of Ares did take part in the fashioning of his mortal body, even he who is said to have visited Silvia[3] when she was carrying water for the bath of the goddess,[4] but the whole truth is that the soul of the god Quirinus[5] came down to earth from Helios; for we must, I think, believe the sacred tradition. And the close conjunction of Helios and Selene, who share the empire over the visible world, even as it had caused his soul to descend to earth, in like manner caused to mount upwards him whom it received back from the earth, after blotting out with fire from a thunderbolt[6] the mortal part of his body. So clearly did she who creates earthly matter,

[1] Julian accepts the impossible etymology "path of the wolf"; Lycabas means "path of light," cf. *lux*.

[2] *Odyssey*, 14. 161. The word was also used on Roman coins with the meaning "year."

[3] Silvia the Vestal virgin gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus, whose father was supposed to be Mars (Ares).

[4] Vesta, the Greek Hestia, the goddess of the hearth.

[5] The name given to Romulus after his apotheosis; cf. *Caesars* 307 B.

[6] For the legend of his translation see Livy 1. 16; Plutarch, *Romulus* 21; Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 496; Horace, *Odes* 3. 3. 15 foll.

δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἄκρως γενομένη τὸν ἥλιον ἐδέξατο εἰς γῆν πεμπόμενον διὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Προνοίας τὸν Κυρῖνον, ἀνιπτάμενόν τε αὖθις ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτίκα Ἥλιον.

Ἔτι σοι βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φράσω τεκμήριον 155
τοῦ Νόμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον; ἄσβεστον ἐξ ἡλίου φυλάττουσι φλόγα παρθένοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἱεραὶ κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ὥρας, αἳ δὴ τὸ γενόμενον[1] περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ φυλάττουσιν. ἔτι τούτων μεῖζον ἔχω σοι φράσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε τεκμήριον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως ἔργον. οἱ μῆνες ἅπασι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἀριθμοῦνται, μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι B
πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου κινήσεις ἑκάστου μετροῦμεν ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς ἡμέρας. εἴ σοι μετὰ τοῦτο φαίην, ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν τιμῶμεν καὶ ἄγομεν Ἡλίῳ τετραετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐρῶ νεώτερα· βέλτιον δὲ ἴσως ἕν τι τῶν παλαιοτέρων προθεῖναι. τοῦ γὰρ ἐνιαυσιαίου κύκλου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ποιούμενος, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ φθίνουσαν ἤδη τὴν ὀπώραν, Ἡλίου τὰς ἐμφανεστάτας ὑμνοῦσι C

[1] After γενόμενον Hertlein omits ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης.

she whose place is at the furthest point below the sun, receive Quirinus when he was sent down to earth by Athene, goddess of Forethought; and when he took flight again from earth she led him back straightway to Helios, the King of the All.

Do you wish me to mention yet another proof of this, I mean the work of King Numa?[1] In Rome maiden priestesses[2] guard the undying flame of the sun at different hours in turn; they guard the fire that is produced on earth by the agency of the god. And I can tell you a still greater proof of the power of this god, which is the work of that most divine king himself. The months are reckoned from the moon by, one may say, all other peoples; but we and the Egyptians alone reckon the days of every year according to the movements of the sun. If after this I should say that we also worship Mithras, and celebrate games in honour of Helios every four years, I shall be speaking of customs that are somewhat recent.[3] But perhaps it is better to cite a proof from the remote past. The beginning of the cycle of the year is placed at different times by different peoples. Some place it at the spring equinox, others at the height of summer, and many in the late autumn; but they each and all sing the praises of the most visible gifts of Helios. One nation celebrates the season best

[1] To Numa Pompilius, the legendary king who reigned next after Romulus, the Romans ascribed the foundation of many of their religious ceremonies. [2] The Vestal virgins.

[3] The Heliaia, *solis agon*, was founded by the Emperor Aurelian at Rome in 274 A.D.; but the "unconquerable sun," *sol invictus*, had been worshipped there for fully a century before Aurelian's foundation; see Usener, *Sol invictus*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1905. Julian once again, *Caesars* 336 C calls Helios by his Persian name Mithras.

δωρεάς, ὁ μέν τις τὴν τῆς ἐργασίας ἐνδιδομένην εὐκαιρίαν, ὅτε ἡ γῆ θάλλει καὶ γαυριᾷ, φυομένων ἄρτι τῶν καρπῶν ἁπάντων, γίνεται δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πλεῖσθαι τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀηδὲς καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ φαιδρότερον μεθίσταται, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ θέρους ἐτίμησαν ὥραν,[1] ὡς ἀσφαλῶς τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἔχοντες θαρρῆσαι γενέσεως, τῶν μὲν σπερμάτων ἤδη συνειλεγμένων, ἀκμαίας δὲ οὔσης τῆς ὀπώρας ἤδη καὶ πεπαινο- D
μένων τῶν ἐπικειμένων καρπῶν τοῖς δένδροις. ἄλλοι δὲ τούτων ἔτι κομψότεροι τέλος ἐνιαυτοῦ ὑπέλαβον τὴν τελειοτάτην τῶν καρπῶν ἁπάντων ἀκμὴν καὶ φθίσιν· ταῦτά τοι καὶ φθινούσης ἤδη τῆς ὀπώρας ἄγουσι τὰς κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν νουμηνίας. οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι προπάτορες ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως τοῦ Νόμα μειζόνως ἔτι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον σεβόμενοι τὰ μὲν τῆς χρείας ἀπέλιπον, ἅτε οἶμαι φύσει θεῖοι καὶ περιττοὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, αὐτὸν δὲ εἶδον τούτων τὸν αἴτιον καὶ ἄγειν ἔταξαν συμ- 15
φώνως ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ τῶν ὡρῶν τὴν νουμηνίαν, ὁπότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος αὖθις ἐπανάγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφεὶς τῆς μεσημβρίας τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ὥσπερ περὶ νύσσαν τὸν αἰγοκέρωτα κάμψας ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου πρὸς τὸν βορρᾶν ἔρχεται μεταδώσων ἡμῖν τῶν ἐπετείων ἀγαθῶν. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς ἐκεῖνοι διανοηθέντες οὕτως ἐνεστήσαντο τὴν ἐπέτειον νουμηνίαν, ἐνθένδ᾽ ἄν τις κατανοήσειεν. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι καθ᾽ ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς τρέπεται, καθ᾽ ἣν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμφανὴς γίνεται χωρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς B

[1] ὥραν Hertlein, Naber suggest, ἡμέραν MSS, cf. *Epistle* 444. 425 c.

adapted for work in the fields, when the earth bursts into bloom and exults, when all the crops are just beginning to sprout, and the sea begins to be safe for sailing, and the disagreeable, gloomy winter puts on a more cheerful aspect; others again award the crown to the summer season,[1] since at that time they can safely feel confidence about the yield of the fruits, when the grains have already been harvested and midsummer is now at its height, and the fruits on the trees are ripening. Others again, with still more subtlety, regard as the close of the year the time when all the fruits are in their perfect prime and decay has already set in. For this reason they celebrate the annual festival of the New Year in late autumn. But our forefathers, from the time of the most divine king Numa, paid still greater reverence to the god Helios. They ignored the question of mere utility, I think, because they were naturally religious and endowed with unusual intelligence; but they saw that he is the cause of all that is useful, and so they ordered the observance of the New Year to correspond with the present season; that is to say when King Helios returns to us again, and leaving the region furthest south and, rounding Capricorn as though it were a goal-post, advances from the south to the north to give us our share of the blessings of the year. And that our forefathers, because they comprehended this correctly, thus established the beginning of the year, one may perceive from the following. For it was not, I think, the time when the god turns, but the time when he becomes visible to all men, as he travels from south to north,

[1] The Attic year began with the summer solstice.

μεσημβρίας ἐς τὰς ἄρκτους ἔταξαν οὗτοι τὴν ἑορτήν. οὔπω μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν κανόνων λεπτότης γνώριμος, οὓς ἐξηῦρον μὲν Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἵππαρχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐτελειώσαντο, κρίνοντες δὲ αἰσθήσει τοῖς φαινομένοις ἠκολούθουν.

Οὕτω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχοντα κατενοήθη. πρὸ τῆς νουμηνίας, εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν τελευταῖον τοῦ Κρόνου μῆνα, ποιοῦμεν Ἡλίῳ τὸν περιφανέστατον ἀγῶνα, τὴν C ἑορτὴν Ἡλίῳ καταφημίσαντες ἀνικήτῳ, μεθ' ὃν οὐδὲν θέμις ὧν ὁ τελευταῖος μὴν ἔχει σκυθρωπῶν μέν, ἀναγκαίων δ' ὅμως, ἐπιτελεσθῆναι θεαμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Κρονίοις οὖσι τελευταίοις εὐθὺς συνάπτει κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὰ Ἡλίαια, ἃ δὴ πολλάκις μοι δοῖεν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑμνῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι θεοί, καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιος, ὁ περὶ τὴν τἀγαθοῦ γόνιμον οὐσίαν ἐξ ἀιδίου προελθὼν μέσος ἐν μέσοις τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, D συνοχῆς τε αὐτοὺς πληρώσας καὶ κάλλους μυρίου καὶ περιουσίας γονίμου καὶ τελείου νοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀθρόως τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀχρόνως, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν ἐλλάμπων εἰς τὴν ἐμφανῆ μέσην τοῦ παντὸς

that they appointed for the festival. For still unknown to them was the nicety of those laws which the Chaldæans and Egyptians discovered, and which Hipparchus[1] and Ptolemy[2] perfected: but they judged simply by sense-perception, and were limited to what they could actually see.

But the truth of these facts was recognised, as I said, by a later generation. Before the beginning of the year, at the end of the month which is called after Kronos,[3] we celebrate in honour of Helios the most splendid games, and we dedicate the festival to the Invincible Sun. And after this it is not lawful to perform any of the shows that belong to the last month, gloomy as they are, though necessary. But, in the cycle, immediately after the end of the Kronia[4] follow the Heliaia. That festival may the ruling gods grant me to praise and to celebrate with sacrifice! And above all the others may Helios himself, the King of the All, grant me this, even he who from eternity has proceeded from the generative substance of the Good: even he who is midmost of the midmost intellectual gods; who fills them with continuity and endless beauty and superabundance of generative power and perfect reason, yea with all blessings at once, and independently of time! And now he illumines his own

[1] A Greek astronomer who flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. His works are lost.

[2] Claudius Ptolemy an astronomer at Alexandria 127–151 A.D.

[3] *i.e.* December.

[4] The festival of Saturn, the Saturnalia, was celebrated by the Latins at the close of December, and corresponds to our Christmas holidays. Saturn was identified with the Greek god Kronos, and Julian uses the Greek word for the festival in order to avoid, according to sophistic etiquette, a Latin name.

οὐρανοῦ φερομένην ἕδραν οἰκείαν ἐξ ἀιδίου, καὶ
μεταδιδοὺς τῷ φαινομένῳ παντὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ
κάλλους, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν σύμπαντα πληρώσας
τοσούτων θεῶν ὁπόσων αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ νοερῶς 157
ἔχει, περὶ αὐτὸν ἀμερίστως πληθυνομένων καὶ
ἑνοειδῶς αὐτῷ συνημμένων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην τόπον διὰ τῆς ἀειγενεσίας
συνέχων καὶ τῶν ἐνδιδομένων ἐκ τοῦ κυκλικοῦ
σώματος ἀγαθῶν, ἐπιμελόμενος τοῦ τε[1] κοινοῦ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἰδίᾳ τε τῆς ἡμετέρας
πόλεως, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξ ἀιδίου
ψυχὴν ὑπέστησεν, ὀπαδὸν ἀποφήνας αὐτοῦ.
ταῦτά τε οὖν, ὅσα μικρῷ πρόσθεν ηὐξάμην, δοίη, B
καὶ ἔτι κοινῇ μὲν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἀιδιό-
τητα μετ' εὐνοίας χορηγῶν φυλάττοι, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπὶ
τοσοῦτον εὖ πρᾶξαι τά τε ἀνθρώπινα καὶ τὰ θεῖα
δοίη, ἐφ' ὅσον βιῶναι συγχωρεῖ, ζῆν δὲ καὶ ἐμπο-
λιτεύεσθαι τῷ βίῳ δοίη ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ
φίλον ἡμῖν τε λῷον καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς συμφέρον
Ῥωμαίων πράγμασιν.

Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ φίλε Σαλούστιε, κατὰ τὴν τριπλῆν
τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργίαν ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα νυξὶν ὡς C
οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπελθόντα μοι τῇ μνήμῃ καὶ γράψαι
πρὸς σὲ ἐτόλμησα, ἐπεί σοι καὶ τὸ πρότερον εἰς
τὰ Κρόνια γεγραμμένον ἡμῖν οὐ παντάπασιν

[1] τοῦ τε Hertlein suggests, τε τοῦ MSS.

visible abode, which from eternity moves as the centre of the whole heavens, and bestows a share of intelligible beauty on the whole visible world, and fills the whole heavens with the same number of gods as he contains in himself in intellectual form. And without division they reveal themselves in manifold form surrounding him, but they are attached to him to form a unity. Aye, but also, through his perpetual generation and the blessings that he bestows from the heavenly bodies, he holds together the region beneath the moon. For he cares for the whole human race in common, but especially for my own city,[1] even as also he brought into being my soul from eternity, and made it his follower. All this, therefore, that I prayed for a moment ago, may he grant, and further may he, of his grace, endow my city as a whole with eternal existence, so far as is possible, and protect her; and for myself personally, may he grant that, so long as I am permitted to live, I may prosper in my affairs both human and divine; finally may he grant me to live and serve the state with my life, so long as is pleasing to himself and well for me and expedient for the Roman Empire!

This discourse, friend Sallust,[2] I composed in three nights at most, in harmony with the three-fold creative power of the god,[3] as far as possible just as it occurred to my memory: and I have ventured to write it down and to dedicate it to you because you thought my earlier work on the Kronia[4] was not

[1] Rome. [2] See Introduction, p. 351.

[3] For the threefold creative force cf. Proclus on *Timaeus* 94 CD. Here Julian means that there are three modes of creation exercised by Helios now in one, now in another, of the three worlds; cf. 135 B.C. [4] This work is lost.

ἀπόβλητον ἐφάνη. τελειοτέροις δ' εἰ βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστικωτέροις λόγοις ἐπιστῆσαι, ἐντυχὼν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θείου γενομένοις Ἰαμβλίχου περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων συγγράμμασι τὸ τέλος ἐκεῖσε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὑρήσεις σοφίας. δοίη δ' D
ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος μηδὲν ἔλαττόν με τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γνῶναι, καὶ διδάξαι κοινῇ τε ἅπαντας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς μανθάνειν ἀξίους. ἕως δέ μοι τοῦτο δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, κοινῇ θεραπεύωμεν τὸν τῷ θεῷ φίλον Ἰάμβλιχον, ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐλθόντα διεληλύθαμεν. ἐκείνου δὲ εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ τι τελειότερον, οὐδὲ εἰ πολλὰ πάνυ προσταλαιπωρήσας καινοτομήσειεν· ἐκβήσεται γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, τῆς ἀληθεστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ νοήσεως. 15
ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως μάταιον, εἰ διδασκαλίας χάριν ἐποιούμην τοὺς λόγους, αὐτὸν[1] μετ' ἐκεῖνόν τι συγγράφειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕμνον ἐθέλων διελθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ χαριστήριον ἐν τούτῳ τόπον ὑπελάμβανον τοῦ[2] περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ φράσαι κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμήν, οὐ μάτην οἶμαι πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους τούσδε, τὸ

Κὰδ δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν[3]

οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εὐ- B
φημιῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδεχόμενος. εὔχομαι οὖν τρίτον ἀντὶ τῆς προθυμίας μοι ταύτης εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιον, καὶ

[1] αὐτὸν Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ MSS.
[2] τοῦ Hertlein suggests, τὸ M, τῷ MSS.
[3] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 336.

wholly worthless. But if you wish to meet with a more complete and more mystical treatment of the same theme, then read the writings of the inspired Iamblichus on this subject,[1] and you will find there the most consummate wisdom which man can achieve. And may mighty Helios grant that I too may attain to no less perfect knowledge of himself, and that I may instruct all men, speaking generally, but especially those who are worthy to learn. And so long as Helios grants let us all in common revere Iamblichus, the beloved of the gods. For he is the source for what I have here set down, a few thoughts from many, as they occurred to my mind. However I know well that no one can utter anything more perfect than he, nay not though he should labour long at the task and say very much that is new For he will naturally diverge thereby from the truest knowledge of the god. Therefore it would probably have been a vain undertaking to compose anything after Iamblichus on the same subject if I had written this discourse for the sake of giving instruction. But since I wished to compose a hymn to express my gratitude to the god, I thought that this was the best place in which to tell, to the best of my power, of his essential nature. And so I think that not in vain has this discourse been composed. For the saying "To the extent of your powers offer sacrifice to the immortal gods," I apply not to sacrifice only, but also to the praises that we offer to the gods. For the third time, therefore, I pray that Helios, the King of the All, may be gracious to me

[1] *i.e.* his treatise *On the Gods*, which is not extant.

δοῦναι βίον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τελειοτέραν φρόνησιν καὶ θεῖον νοῦν ἀπαλλαγήν τε τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἐκ τοῦ βίου πρᾳοτάτην ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, ἄνοδόν τε ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ μονὴν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, C μάλιστα μὲν ἀίδιον, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μεῖζον εἴη τῶν ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ πολυετεῖς περιόδους.

in recompense for this my zeal; and may he grant me a virtuous life and more perfect wisdom and inspired intelligence, and, when fate wills, the gentlest exit that may be from life, at a fitting hour; and that I may ascend to him thereafter and abide with him, for ever if possible, but if that be more than the actions of my life deserve, for many periods of many years!

ORATION V

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The cult of Phrygian Cybele the Mother of the Gods, known to the Latin world as the Great Mother, Magna Mater, was the first Oriental religion adopted by the Romans. In the Fifth Oration, which is, like the Fourth, a hymn, Julian describes the entrance of the Goddess into Italy in the third century B.C. In Greece she had been received long before, but the more civilised Hellenes had not welcomed, as did the Romans, the more barbarous features of the cult, the mutilated priests, the Galli, and the worship of Attis.[1] They preferred the less emotional cult of the Syrian Adonis. In Athens the Mother of the Gods was early identified with Gaia the Earth Mother, and the two became inextricably confused.[2] But Julian, in this more Roman than Greek, does not shrink from the Oriental conception of Cybele as the lover of Attis, attended by eunuch priests, or the frenzy of renunciation described by Catullus.[3] But he was first of all a Neo-Platonist, and the aim of this hymn as of the Fourth Oration is to adapt to his philosophy a popular cult and to give its Mysteries a philosophic interpretation.

[1] For the Attis cult see Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*; for the introduction of the worship of Cybele into Italy, Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain.*

[2] See Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens.*

[3] Catullus 63.

The Mithraic religion, seeking to conciliate the other cults of the empire, had from the first associated with the sun-god the worship of the Magna Mater, and Attis had been endowed with the attributes of Mithras. Though Julian's hymn is in honour of Cybele he devotes more attention to Attis. Originally the myth of Cybele symbolises the succession of the seasons; the disappearance of Attis the sun-god is the coming of winter; his mutilation is the barrenness of nature when the sun has departed; his restoration to Cybele is the renewal of spring. In all this he is the counterpart of Persephone among the Greeks and of Adonis in Syria. Julian interprets the myth in connection with the three worlds described in the Fourth Oration. Cybele is a principle of the highest, the intelligible world, the source of the intellectual gods. Attis is not merely a sun-god: he is a principle of the second, the intellectual world, who descends to the visible world in order to give it order and fruitfulness. Julian expresses the Neo-Platonic dread and dislike of matter, of the variable, the plural and unlimited. Cybele the intelligible principle would fain have restrained Attis the embodiment of intelligence from association with matter. His recall and mutilation symbolise the triumph of unity over multiformity, of mind over matter. His restoration to Cybele symbolises the escape of our souls from the world of generation.

Julian follows Plotinus[1] in regarding the myths as allegories to be interpreted by the philosopher and

[1] 5. 1. 7; 3. 6. 19; 1. 6. 8; cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 152 c; and Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, ὁ μῦθος . . . . λόγου τινὸς ἔμφασίς ἐστιν ἀνακλῶντος ἐπ' ἄλλα τὴν διάνοιαν.

the theosophist. They are riddles to be solved, and the paradoxical element in them is designed to turn our minds to the hidden truth. For laymen the myth is enough. Like all the Neo-Platonists he sometimes uses phrases which imply human weakness or chronological development for his divinities and then withdraws those phrases, explaining that they must be taken in another sense. His attitude to myths is further defined in the Sixth[1] and Seventh Orations. The Fifth Oration can hardly be understood apart from the Fourth, and both must present many difficulties to a reader who is unfamiliar with Plotinus, Porphyry, the treatise *On the Mysteries*, formerly attributed to Iamblichus, Sallust, *On the Gods and the World*, and the extant treatises and fragments of Iamblichus. Julian composed this treatise at Pessinus in Phrygia, when he was on his way to Persia, n 362 B.C.

[1] Cf. 206 D. Myths are like toys which help children through teething.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ

Ἀρά γε χρὴ φάναι καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων; καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρήτων γράψομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνέξοιστα ἐξοίσομεν[1] καὶ τὰ ἀνεκλάλητα ἐκλαλήσομεν; τίς μὲν 158
ὁ Ἄττις ἤτοι Γάλλος, τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἁγνείας ταυτησὶ τρόπος ὁποῖος, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ χάριν οὑτοσὶ[2] τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεδείχθη, παραδοθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων Φρυγῶν, παραδεχθεὶς δὲ πρῶτον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τούτων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, ἔργοις διδαχθέντων, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ἐτώθασαν ἐπὶ τῷ τελοῦντι τὰ ὄργια τῆς Μητρός; λέγονται γὰρ οὗτοι περιυβρίσαι καὶ ἀπελάσαι τὸν Γάλλον ὡς B
τὰ θεῖα καινοτομοῦντα, οὐ ξυνέντες ὁποῖόν τι τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρῆμα καὶ ὡς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δηὼ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Δημήτηρ. εἶτα μῆνις τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ θεραπεία τῆς μήνιδος. ἡ γὰρ

[1] *ἐξοίσομεν* Cobet adds, *ἀνέξοιστα καὶ* MSS, Hertlein.
[2] *οὑτοσὶ* Hertlein suggests, *οὑτωσὶ* MSS

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Ought I to say something on this subject also? And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable? Who is Attis[1] or Gallus,[2] who is the Mother of the Gods,[3] and what is the manner of their ritual of purification? And further why was it introduced in the beginning among us Romans? It was handed down by the Phrygians in very ancient times, and was first taken over by the Greeks, and not by any ordinary Greeks but by Athenians who had learned by experience that they did wrong to jeer at one who was celebrating the Mysteries of the Mother. For it is said that they wantonly insulted and drove out Gallus, on the ground that he was introducing a new cult, because they did not understand what sort of goddess they had to do with, and that she was that very Deo whom they worship, and Rhea and Demeter too. Then followed the wrath of the goddess and the

[1] The Phrygian god of vegetation who corresponds to the Syrian Adonis. His name is said to mean "father," and he is at once the lover and son of the Mother of the Gods. His death and resurrection were celebrated in spring.

[2] The generic name for the eunuch priests of Attis.

[3] The Phrygian Cybele, the Asiatic goddess of fertility; the chief seat of her worship was Pessinus in Phrygia.

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἡγεμὼν γενομένη τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἡ τοῦ Πυθίου πρόμαντις θεοῦ, τὴν τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν μῆνιν ἐκέλευσεν ἱλάσκεσθαι· καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μητρῷον, οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφυλάττετο τὰ γραμματεῖα. μετὰ δὴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι C
παρεδέξαντο, συμβουλεύσαντος καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πυθίου ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον ἄγειν ἐκ Φρυγίας τὴν θεὸν σύμμαχον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει προσθεῖναι μικρὰν[1] ἱστορίαν ἐνταῦθα. μαθόντες γὰρ τὸν χρησμὸν στέλλουσιν οἱ τῆς θεοφιλοῦς οἰκήτορες Ῥώμης πρεσβείαν αἰτήσουσαν παρὰ τῶν Περγάμου βασιλέων, οἳ τότε ἐκράτουν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἁγιώτατον ἄγαλμα. λαβόν- D
τες δὲ ἦγον τὸν ἱερὸν φόρτον ἐνθέντες εὐρείᾳ φορτίδι πλεῖν εὐπετῶς δυναμένῃ τὰ τοσαῦτα πελάγη. περαιωθεῖσα δὲ Αἰγαιόν τε καὶ Ἰόνιον, εἶτα περιπλεύσασα Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸ Τυρρηνὸν πέλαγος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τύβριδος κατήγετο· καὶ δῆμος ἐξεχεῖτο τῆς πόλεως σὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ὑπήντων γε μὴν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἱέρειαι πᾶσαι καὶ πάντες ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν ναῦν οὐριο- 16
δρομοῦσαν ἀποβλέποντες, καὶ περὶ τὴν τρόπιν

[1] μικρὰν Hertlein, μικρὸν Naber, who thinks ἱστορίαν a gloss, cf. *Oration* vii. 276 c, μικρὸν ἱστορίαν MSS, μικρὸν ἱστορίας Reiske.

propitiation of her wrath. For the priestess of the Pythian god who guided the Greeks in all noble conduct, bade them propitiate the wrath of the Mother of the Gods. And so, we are told, the Metroum was built, where the Athenians used to keep all their state records.[1] After the Greeks the Romans took over the cult, when the Pythian god had advised them in their turn to bring the goddess from Phrygia as an ally for their war against the Carthaginians.[2] And perhaps there is no reason why I should not insert here a brief account of what happened. When they learned the response of the oracle, the inhabitants of Rome, that city beloved of the gods, sent an embassy to ask from the kings of Pergamon[3] who then ruled over Phrygia and from the Phrygians themselves the most holy statue[4] of the goddess. And when they had received it they brought back their most sacred freight, putting it on a broad cargo-boat which could sail smoothly over those wide seas. Thus she crossed the Aegean and Ionian Seas, and sailed round Sicily and over the Etruscan Sea, and so entered the mouth of the Tiber. And the people and the Senate with them poured out of the city, and in front of all the others there came to meet her all the priests and priestesses in suitable attire according to their ancestral custom. And in excited suspense they gazed at the ship as she ran before a fair wind, and about her keel they could discern the foaming wake as she cleft the

[1] *i.e.* after the middle of the fifth century B.C.; before that date the records were kept in the Acropolis.

[2] In 204 B.C.; cf. Livy 29. 10 foll.; Silius Italicus 17. 1 foll.; Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 255 foll. tells the legend and describes the ritual of the cult.

[3] The Attalids.

[4] A black meteoric stone embodied the goddess of Pessinus.

ἀπεσκόπουν τὸ ῥόθιον σχιζομένων τῶν κυμάτων· εἶτα εἰσπλέουσαν ἐδεξιοῦντο τὴν ναῦν προσκυνοῦντες ἕκαστος ὡς ἔτυχε προσεστὼς πόρρωθεν. ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσα δήμῳ, ὅτι μὴ ξόανον ἄγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ἄψυχον, ἔχει δὲ ἄρα δύναμίν τινα μείζω καὶ θειοτέραν ὃ δὴ παρὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν λαβόντες ἔφερον, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Τύβριδος ἥψατο, τὴν ναῦν B ἵστησιν ὥσπερ ῥιζωθεῖσαν ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τοῦ Τύβριδος. εἷλκον δὴ οὖν πρὸς ἀντίον τὸν ῥοῦν, ἡ δὲ οὐχ εἵπετο. ὡς[1] βραχέσι δὲ ἐντετυχηκότες ὠθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν ναῦν, ἡ δὲ οὐκ εἶκεν ὠθούντων. πᾶσα δὲ μηχανὴ προσήγετο τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ἡ δὲ οὐχ ἧττον ἀμετακίνητος ἦν· ὥστε ἐμπίπτει κατὰ τῆς ἱερωμένης τὴν παναγεστάτην ἱερωσύνην παρθένου δεινὴ καὶ ἄδικος ὑποψία, καὶ τὴν Κλωδίαν ᾐτιῶντο· τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ C σεμνῇ παρθένῳ· μὴ παντάπασιν ἄχραντον μηδὲ καθαρὰν φυλάττειν ἑαυτὴν τῇ θεῷ· ὀργίζεσθαι οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ μηνίειν ἐμφανῶς· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς πᾶσιν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα δαιμονιώτερον. ἡ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰδοῦς ὑπεπίμπλατο πρός τε τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν· οὕτω πάνυ πόρρω ἐτύγχανε τῆς αἰσχρᾶς καὶ παρανόμου πράξεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὴν αἰτίαν ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐξισχύουσαν, περιελοῦσα τὴν ζώνην καὶ περιθεῖσα τῆς νεὼς D τοῖς ἄκροις, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς ἀποχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντας, εἶτα ἐδεῖτο τῆς θεοῦ μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτὴν[2] ἀδίκοις ἐνεχομένην βλασφημίαις.

[1] ὡς Petavius adds.
[2] αὑτὴν Hertlein suggests, αὐτὴν MSS.

waves. And they greeted the ship as she sailed in and adored her from afar, everyone where he happened to be standing. But the goddess, as though she desired to show the Roman people that they were not bringing a lifeless image from Phrygia, but that what they had received from the Phrygians and were now bringing home possessed greater and more divine powers than an image, stayed the ship directly she touched the Tiber, and she was suddenly as though rooted in mid-stream. So they tried to tow her against the current, but she did not follow. Then they tried to push her off, thinking they had grounded on a shoal, but for all their efforts she did not move. Next every possible device was brought to bear, but in spite of all she remained immovable. Thereupon a terrible and unjust suspicion fell on the maiden who had been consecrated to the most sacred office of priestess, and they began to accuse Claudia [1] —for that was the name of that noble maiden [2]— of not having kept herself stainless and pure for the goddess; wherefore they said that the goddess was angry and was plainly declaring her wrath. For by this time the thing seemed to all to be supernatural. Now at first she was filled with shame at the mere name of the thing and the suspicion; so very far was she from such shameless and lawless behaviour. But when she saw that the charge against her was gaining strength, she took off her girdle and fastened it about the prow of the ship, and, like one divinely inspired, bade all stand aside: and then she besought the goddess not to suffer her to be thus implicated

[1] Claudia, turritae rara ministra deae. "Claudia thou peerless priestess of the goddess with the embattled crown." —Propertius 4. 11. 52.

[2] A matron in other versions.

βοῶσα δὲ ὥσπερ τι κέλευσμα, φασί, ναυτικόν, Δέσποινα Μῆτερ εἴπερ εἰμὶ σώφρων, ἕπου μοι, ἔφη. καὶ δὴ τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐκίνησε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἵλκυσεν ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν· καὶ δύο ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις ἔδειξεν ἡ θεὸς οἶμαι κατ᾽ ἐκείνην
τὴν ἡμέραν. ὡς οὔτε μικροῦ τινος τίμιον ἀπὸ τῆς 161
Φρυγίας ἐπήγοντο[1] φόρτον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον, οὔτε ὡς ἀνθρώπινον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ὄντως θεῖον, οὔτε ἄψυχον γῆν, ἀλλὰ ἔμπνουν τι χρῆμα καὶ δαιμόνιον. ἓν μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ἡ θεός· ἕτερον δέ, ὡς τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς λάθοι ἂν αὐτὴν χρηστὸς ἢ φαῦλος ὤν. κατωρθώθη μέντοι καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτίκα Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ὥστε τὸν τρίτον ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῆς μόνον Καρχηδόνος γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰ καί τισιν ἀπίθανα B
δόξει καὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσήκειν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ θεολόγῳ, λεγέσθω μὴ μεῖον, κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἱστοριογράφων ἀναγραφόμενα, σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ Ῥώμῃ. καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι φήσουσιν αὐτά τινες τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὕθλους εἶναι γρᾳδίων οὐκ ἀνεκτούς. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢ τουτοισὶ τοῖς κομψοῖς, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον δριμὺ μέν, ὑγιὲς δὲ οὐδὲ ἓν βλέπει.[2]

Ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθέ μοι παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄρτι

[1] ἐπήγοντο Hertlein suggests, ἐπῆγον τὸν MSS.
[2] Plato, *Republic* 519 A δριμὺ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον.

in unjust slanders. Next, as the story goes, she cried aloud as though it were some nautical word of command, "O Goddess Mother, if I am pure follow me!" And lo, she not only made the ship move, but even towed her for some distance up stream. Two things, I think, the goddess showed the Romans on that day: first that the freight they were bringing from Phrygia had no small value, but was priceless, and that this was no work of men's hands but truly divine, not lifeless clay but a thing possessed of life and divine powers. This, I say, was one thing that the goddess showed them. And the other was that no one of the citizens could be good or bad and she not know thereof. Moreover the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians forthwith took a favourable turn, so that the third war was waged only for the walls of Carthage itself.[1]

As for this narrative, though some will think it incredible and wholly unworthy of a philosopher or a theologian, nevertheless let it here be related. For besides the fact that it is commonly recorded by most historians, it has been preserved too on bronze statues in mighty Rome, beloved of the gods.[2] And yet I am well aware that some over-wise persons will call it an old wives' tale, not to be credited. But for my part I would rather trust the traditions of cities than those too clever people, whose puny souls are keen-sighted enough, but never do they see aught that is sound.

I am told that on this same subject of which I am

[1] In the Third Punic War, which began 149 B.C., Carthage was sacked by the Romans under Scipio.

[2] A relief in the Capitoline Museum shows Claudia in the act of dragging the ship.

τὸν τῆς ἁγιστείας καιρόν, ἀκούω μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ
Πορφυρίῳ τινὰ πεφιλοσοφῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ
μὴν οἶδά γε, οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον, εἰ καὶ συνενεχθῆναί
που συμβαίη τῷ λόγῳ. τὸν Γάλλον δὲ ἐγὼ του-
τονὶ καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν ἐπινοῶ τοῦ
γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικοῦ νοῦ τὴν ἄχρι τῆς
ἐσχάτης ὕλης ἅπαντα γεννῶσαν οὐσίαν εἶναι,
ἔχουσάν τε ἐν ἑαυτῇ πάντας τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς
αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἐν D
πᾶσι τὰ εἴδη, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτοις
αἰτίοις τὰ τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ τελευταίων, μεθ' ἃ
οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τῆς στερήσεως ὄνομα μετὰ ἀμυ-
δρᾶς ἐπινοίας. οὐσῶν δὴ πολλῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ πολ-
λῶν πάνυ δημιουργῶν τοῦ τρίτου δημιουργοῦ, ὃς
τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐξηρημένους ἔχει καὶ
συνεχεῖς τὰς αἰτίας, ἡ τελευταία καὶ μέχρι γῆς
ὑπὸ περιουσίας τοῦ γονίμου διὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν παρὰ 1
τῶν ἄστρων καθήκουσα φύσις ὁ ζητούμενός ἐστιν
Ἄττις. ἴσως δὲ ὑπὲρ οὗ λέγω χρὴ διαλαβεῖν
σαφέστερον. εἶναί τι λέγομεν ὕλην, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἔνυλον εἶδος. ἀλλὰ τούτων εἰ μή τις αἰτία
προτέτακται, λανθάνοιμεν ἂν ἑαυτοὺς εἰσάγοντες
τὴν Ἐπικούρειον δόξαν. ἀρχαῖν γὰρ δυοῖν εἰ
μηδέν ἐστι πρεσβύτερον, αὐτόματός τις αὐτὰς
φορὰ καὶ τύχη συνεκλήρωσεν. ἀλλ' ὁρῶμεν,

impelled to speak at the very season of these sacred rites, Porphyry too has written a philosophic treatise. But since I have never met with it I do not know whether at any point it may chance to agree with my discourse. But him whom I call Gallus or Attis I discern of my own knowledge to be the substance of generative and creative Mind which engenders all things down to the lowest plane of matter,[1] and comprehends in itself all the concepts and causes of the forms that are embodied in matter. For truly the forms of all things are not in all things, and in the highest and first causes we do not find the forms of the lowest and last, after which there is nothing save privation[2] coupled with a dim idea. Now there are many substances and very many creative gods, but the nature of the third creator,[3] who contains in himself the separate concepts of the forms that are embodied in matter and also the connected chain of causes, I mean that nature which is last in order, and through its superabundance of generative power descends even unto our earth through the upper region from the stars,—this is he whom we seek, even Attis. But perhaps I ought to distinguish more clearly what I mean. We assert that matter exists and also form embodied in matter. But if no cause be assigned prior to these two, we should be introducing, unconsciously, the Epicurean doctrine. For if there be nothing of higher order than these two principles, then a spontaneous motion and chance brought them together.

[1] *i.e.* the world of sense-perception.

[2] Plotinus 1. 8. 4 called matter "the privation of the Good," στέρησις ἀγαθοῦ.

[3] Helios; cf. *Oration* 4. 140 A. Attis is here identified with the light of the sun.

φησὶ Περιπατητικός τις ἀγχίνους ὥσπερ ὁ Ξέναρ- B
χος, τούτων αἴτιον ὂν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ κυκλικὸν σῶμα. γελοῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὑπὲρ τούτων ζητῶν τε καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος· ἠγνόησε γοῦν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωνήν. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀσώματον οὐσίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ νοητὴν ἔστη μὴ πολυπραγμονῶν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ φὰς οὕτω ταῦτα πεφυκέναι· χρῆν δὲ δήπουθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος τὸ πεφυκέναι ταύτῃ λαμβάνοντα μηκέτι ζητεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, ἵστασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν
ἐκπίπτειν ὂν μὲν οὐδὲν φύσει καθ' ἑαυτό, ἔχον δὲ C
ἄλλως κενὴν ὑπόνοιαν. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ μέμνημαι τοῦ Ξενάρχου λέγοντος ἀκηκοώς. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, τοῖς ἄγαν ἐφείσθω Περιπατητικοῖς ὀνυχίζειν, ὅτι δὲ οὐ προσηνῶς ἐμοὶ παντί που δῆλον, ὅπου γε καὶ τὰς Ἀριστοτελικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐνδεεστέρως ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνω, εἰ μή τις αὐτὰς ἐς ταὐτὸ τοῖς Πλάτωνος
ἄγοι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς ἐκ θεῶν δεδομέναις D
προφητείαις.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἴσως ἄξιον πυθέσθαι, πῶς τὸ κυκλικὸν σῶμα δύναται τὰς ἀσωμάτους ἔχειν αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δίχα τούτων

"But," says some acute Peripatetic like Xenarchus, "we see that the cause of these is the fifth or cyclic substance. Aristotle is absurd when he investigates and discusses these matters, and Theophrastus likewise. At any rate he overlooked the implications of a well-known utterance of his. For just as when he came to incorporeal and intelligible substance he stopped short and did not inquire into its cause, and merely asserted that this is what it is by nature; surely in the case of the fifth substance also he ought to have assumed that its nature is to be thus; and he ought not to have gone on to search for causes, but should have stopped at these, and not fallen back on the intelligible, which has no independent existence by itself, and in any case represents a bare supposition." This is the sort of thing that Xenarchus says, as I remember to have heard. Now whether what he says is correct or not, let us leave to the extreme Peripatetics to refine upon. But that his view is not agreeable to me is, I think, clear to everyone. For I hold that the theories of Aristotle himself are incomplete unless they are brought into harmony with those of Plato[1]; or rather we must make these also agree with the oracles that have been vouchsafed to us by the gods.

But this it is perhaps worth while to inquire, how the cyclic substance[2] can contain the incorporeal causes of the forms that are embodied in matter.

[1] Julian here sums up the tendency of the philosophy of his age. The Peripatetics had been merged in the Platonists and Neo-Platonists, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator often speaks of the reconciliation, in contemporary philosophy, of Plato and Aristotle; cf. 235 c, 236, 366 c. Julian, following the example of Iamblichus, would force them into agreement; but the final appeal was to revealed religion.

[2] *i.e.* aether, the fifth substance.

ὑποστῆναι τὴν γένεσιν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, πρόδηλόν ἐστί που καὶ σαφές. τοῦ χάριν γάρ ἐστι τοσαῦτα τὰ γιγνόμενα; πόθεν δὲ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ; πόθεν δὲ ἡ κατὰ γένος τῶν ὄντων ἐν ὡρισμένοις εἴδεσι διαφορά, εἰ μή τινες εἶεν προϋπάρ- 16
χοντες καὶ προϋφεστῶτες[1] λόγοι αἰτίαι τε ἐν παραδείγματος λόγῳ προϋφεστῶσαι; πρὸς ἃς εἴπερ ἀμβλυώττομεν, ἔτι καθαιρώμεθα τὰ ὄμματα τῆς ψυχῆς. κάθαρσις δὲ ὀρθὴ στραφῆναι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ κατανοῆσαι, πῶς μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ὁ ἔνυλος νοῦς ὥσπερ ἐκμαγεῖόν τι τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν καὶ εἰκών ἐστιν. ἓν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὰ σώματα γινομένων τε B
καὶ θεωρουμένων ἀσωμάτων, οὗ τὴν φαντασίαν ὁ νοῦς οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν ἀσωμάτως, ὅπερ οὔποτ' ἂν ἐποίησεν, εἰ μή τι ξυγγενὲς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς φύσει. ταῦτά τοι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ψυχὴν τόπον εἰδῶν ἔφη, πλὴν οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει. τὴν μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπεστραμμένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα δυνάμει ταῦτα ἔχειν ἀναγκαῖον· εἰ δέ τις ἄσχετος εἴη καὶ ἀμιγὴς ταύτῃ, τοὺς λόγους οὐκέτι δυνάμει, πάντας δὲ C

[1] προϋφεστῶτες Hertlein suggests, cf. 165 D, προεστῶτες MSS.

For that, apart from these causes, it is not possible for generation to take place is, I think, clear and manifest. For why are there so many kinds of generated things? Whence arise masculine and feminine? Whence the distinguishing characteristics of things according to their species in well-defined types, if there are not pre-existing and pre-established concepts, and causes which existed beforehand to serve as a pattern?[1] And if we discern these causes but dimly, let us still further purify the eyes of the soul. And the right kind of purification is to turn our gaze inwards and to observe how the soul and embodied Mind are a sort of mould[2] and likeness of the forms that are embodied in matter. For in the case of the corporeal, or of things that though incorporeal come into being and are to be studied in connection with the corporeal, there is no single thing whose mental image the mind cannot grasp independently of the corporeal. But this it could not have done if it did not possess something naturally akin to the incorporeal forms. Indeed it is for this reason that Aristotle himself called the soul the "place of the forms,"[3] only he said that the forms are there not actually but potentially. Now a soul of this sort, that is allied with matter, must needs possess these forms potentially only, but a soul that should be independent and unmixed in this way we must believe would contain all the

[1] *i.e.* the causes of the forms that are embodied in matter have a prior existence as Ideas.

[2] An echo of Plato, *Theaetetus* 191 C, 196 A; *Timaeus* 50 C.

[3] *De Anima* 3. 4. 429 A; Aristotle quotes the phrase with approval and evidently attributes it to Plato; the precise expression is not to be found in Plato, though in *Parmenides* 132 B he says that the Ideas are "in our souls."

ὑπάρχειν ἐνεργείᾳ νομιστέον. λάβωμεν δὲ αὐτὰ σαφέστερον διὰ τοῦ παραδείγματος, ᾧ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ[1] πρὸς ἕτερον μὲν λόγον, ἐχρήσατο δ' οὖν ὅμως. τὸ παράδειγμα δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν φέρω τοῦ λόγου· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀποδείξει χρὴ λαβεῖν αὐτόν,[2] ἀλλ' ἐπιβολῇ μόνῃ, περὶ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων αἰτιῶν ἐστιν ἢ τῶν γε ὁμοστοίχων τοῖς πρώτοις, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἄξιον νομίζειν, καὶ ὁ Ἄττις θεός. τί δὲ καὶ D
ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ παράδειγμα; φησί[3] που Πλάτων, τῶν περὶ τὴν μίμησιν διατριβόντων εἰ μὲν ἐθέλοι τις μιμεῖσθαι, ὥστε καθυφεστάναι τὰ μιμητά, ἐργώδη τε εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ νὴ Δία γε τοῦ ἀδυνάτου πλησίον μᾶλλον, εὔκολον δὲ καὶ ῥᾳδίαν καὶ σφόδρα δυνατὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν τὰ ὄντα μιμουμένην. ὅταν οὖν τὸ κάτοπτρον λαβόντες περιφέρωμεν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὄντων ῥᾳδίως ἀπομαξάμενοι, δείκνυμεν ἑκάστου τοὺς 16-
τύπους. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παραδείγματος ἐπὶ τὸ εἰρημένον μεταβιβάσωμεν τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ἵν' ᾖ τὸ μὲν κάτοπτρον ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους δυνάμει τόπος εἰδῶν.

Αὐτὰ δὲ χρὴ τὰ εἴδη πρότερον ὑφεστάναι πάντως ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ δυνάμει. τῆς τοίνυν ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ, δυνάμει τῶν ὄντων ἐχούσης τὰ εἴδη, ποῦ πρῶτον ἐνεργείᾳ θησόμεθα ταῦτα; πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἐνύλοις; ἀλλ' B
ἔστι γε ταῦτα φανερῶς τὰ τελευταῖα. λείπεται

[1] 233 D. [2] *αὐτόν* Hertlein suggests, *αὐτό* MSS.
[3] *Sophist* 235 A; cf. *Republic* 596 D.

concepts, not potentially but actually. Let us make this clearer by means of the example which Plato himself employed in the Sophist, with reference certainly to another theory, but still he did employ it. And I bring forward the illustration, not to prove my argument; for one must not try to grasp it by demonstration, but only by apprehension. For it deals with the first causes, or at least those that rank with the first, if indeed, as it is right to believe, we must regard Attis also as a god. What then, and of what sort is this illustration? Plato says that, if any man whose profession is imitation desire to imitate in such a way that the original is exactly reproduced, this method of imitation is troublesome and difficult, and, by Zeus, borders on the impossible; but pleasant and easy and quite possible is the method which only seems to imitate real things. For instance, when we take up a mirror and turn it round we easily get an impression of all objects, and show the general outline of every single thing. From this example let us go back to the analogy I spoke of, and let the mirror stand for what Aristotle calls the "place of the forms" potentially.

Now the forms themselves must certainly subsist actually before they subsist potentially. If, therefore, the soul in us, as Aristotle himself believed, contains potentially the forms of existing things, where shall we place the forms in that previous state of actuality? Shall it be in material things? No, for the forms that are in them are evidently the last and lowest. Therefore it only remains to search

δὴ λοιπὸν ἀΰλους αἰτίας ζητεῖν ἐνεργείᾳ προτεταγμένας τῶν ἐνύλων, αἷς παρυποστᾶσαν καὶ συμπροελθοῦσαν ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ὄντων τινῶν τὰ ἔσοπτρα, τοὺς τῶν εἰδῶν ἀναγκαῖον λόγους, ἐνδιδόναι δὲ διὰ τῆς φύσεως τῇ τε ὕλῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐνύλοις τουτοισὶ σώμασιν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν σωμάτων ἴσμεν, ὡς ὅλη τις οὖσα τοῦ παντός, ἡ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν μέρει, C πρόδηλόν ἐστί που καὶ σαφές, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐνεργείᾳ δίχα φαντασίας ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ψυχὴ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν προσείληφεν. εἰ τοίνυν ἡ φύσις καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν φαντασίαν ἔχειν ὅμως ὁμολογεῖται τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς θεῶν οὐχὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἔτι καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῇ ψυχῇ δώσομεν, ὅπου καὶ φανταστικῶς αὐτὸ γιγνώσκομεν ἤδη καὶ λόγῳ κατα- D λαμβάνομεν; εἶτα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ φιλόνεικος, ὡς τῇ φύσει μὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐνύλους λόγους, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντας καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνεργείᾳ, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει γε πάντας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ μὴ δοῦναι τοῦτο αὐτό; οὐκοῦν εἰ δυνάμει μὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ τὰ εἴδη, δυνάμει δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρώτερον καὶ δια-

for immaterial causes which exist in actuality prior to and of a higher order than the causes that are embodied in matter. And our souls must subsist in dependence on these and come forth together with them, and so receive from them the concepts of the forms, as mirrors show the reflections of things; and then with the aid of nature it bestows them on matter and on these material bodies of our world. For we know that nature is the creator of bodies, universal nature in some sort of the All; while that the individual nature of each is the creator of particulars is plainly evident. But nature exists in us in actuality without a mental image, whereas the soul, which is superior to nature, possesses a mental image besides. If therefore we admit that nature contains in herself the cause of things of which she has however no mental image, why, in heaven's name, are we not to assign to the soul these same forms, only in a still higher degree, and with priority over nature, seeing that it is in the soul that we recognise the forms by means of mental images, and comprehend them by means of the concept? Who then is so contentious as to admit on the one hand that the concepts embodied in matter exist in nature—even though not all and equally in actuality, yet all potentially—while on the other hand he refuses to recognise that the same is true of the soul? If therefore the forms exist in nature potentially, but not actually, and if also they exist potentially in the soul,[1] only in a still purer sense and more completely separated, so that they can be comprehended and recognised;

[1] For the superiority of the soul to nature cf. *De Mysteriis* 8. 7. 270; and for the theory that the soul gives form to matter, Plotinus 4. 3. 20.

κεκριμένως μᾶλλον, ὥστε δὴ καὶ καταλαμβά-
νεσθαι καὶ γινώσκεσθαι, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ οὐδαμοῦ·
πόθεν ἀναρτήσομεν τῆς ἀειγενεσίας τὰ πείσματα;
ποῦ δὲ ἑδράσομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀιδιότητος 16
κόσμου λόγους; τὸ γάρ τοι κυκλικὸν σῶμα ἐξ
ὑποκειμένου καὶ εἴδους ἐστίν. ἀνάγκη δὴ οὖν,
εἰ καὶ μήποτε ἐνεργείᾳ ταῦτα δίχα ἀλλήλων,
ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε ἐπινοίαις ἐκεῖνα πρῶτα ὑπάρχοντα
εἶναί τε καὶ νομίζεσθαι πρεσβύτερα. οὐκοῦν
ἐπειδὴ δέδοταί τις καὶ τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν αἰτία
προηγουμένη παντελῶς ἄυλος ὑπὸ τὸν τρίτον
δημιουργόν, ὃς ἡμῖν οὐ τούτων μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ πέμπτου σώματος πατὴρ
καὶ δεσπότης· ἀποδιελόντες ἐκείνου τὸν Ἄττιν, B
τὴν ἄχρι τῆς ὕλης καταβαίνουσαν αἰτίαν, καὶ
θεὸν γόνιμον Ἄττιν εἶναι καὶ Γάλλον πεπιστεύ-
καμεν, ὃν δή φησιν ὁ μῦθος ἀνθῆσαι μὲν ἐκτε-
θέντα παρὰ Γάλλου ποταμοῦ ταῖς δίναις, εἶτα
καλὸν φανέντα καὶ μέγαν ἀγαπηθῆναι παρὰ
τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. τὴν δὲ τά τε ἄλλα
πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἀστερωτὸν περι-
θεῖναι[1] πῖλον. ἀλλ' εἰ τὴν κορυφὴν σκέπει τοῦ C
Ἄττιδος ὁ φαινόμενος οὐρανὸς οὑτοσί, τὸν Γάλ-
λον ποταμὸν ἄρα μή ποτε χρὴ τὸν γαλαξίαν
αἰνίττεσθαι[2] κύκλον; ἐνταῦθα γάρ φασι μίγνυ-
σθαι τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἀπαθῆ τοῦ

[1] περιθεῖναι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 249, τὸν ἀστερωτὸν αὐτῷ περιθεῖναι πῖλον: ἐπιθεῖναι MSS.

[2] αἰνίττεσθαι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust 250 τὸν γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεται κύκλον: μαντεύεσθαι MSS.

but yet exist in actuality nowhere at all; to what, I ask, shall we hang the chain of perpetual generation, and on what shall we base our theories of the imperishability of the universe? For the cyclic substance[1] itself is composed of matter and form. It must therefore follow that, even though in actuality these two, matter and form, are never separate from one another, yet for our intelligence the forms must have prior existence and be regarded as of a higher order. Accordingly, since for the forms embodied in matter a wholly immaterial cause has been assigned, which leads these forms under the hand of the third creator[2]—who for us is the lord and father not only of these forms but also of the visible fifth substance—from that creator we distinguish Attis, the cause which descends even unto matter, and we believe that Attis or Gallus is a god of generative powers. Of him the myth relates that, after being exposed at birth near the eddying stream of the river Gallus, he grew up like a flower, and when he had grown to be fair and tall, he was beloved by the Mother of the Gods. And she entrusted all things to him, and moreover set on his head the starry cap.[3] But if our visible sky covers the crown of Attis, must one not interpret the river Gallus as the Milky Way?[4] For it is there, they say, that the substance which is subject to change mingles with the passion-

[1] *i.e.* the fifth substance.

[2] Helios; cf. 161 D. The whole passage implies the identification of Attis with nature, and of the world-soul with Helios; cf. 162 A where Attis is called "Nature," φύσις.

[3] cf. 170 D, 168 C; Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 4. 16. 1.

[4] cf. 171 A; Sallust also identifies Gallus with the Milky Way, 4. 14. 25.

πέμπτου κυκλοφορίαν. ἄχρι τοι τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτᾶν τε καὶ χορεύειν τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἐμφερεῖ τῷ νοερῷ θεῷ, τῷ Ἄττιδι· ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ προϊὼν ἦλθεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὁ μῦθος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον[1] κατελθεῖν ἔφη καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ, τὸ δίυγρον αἰνιττόμενος τῆς ὕλης· καὶ L
οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλην αὐτὴν νῦν ἔφη, τὴν τελευταίαν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀσώματον, ἣ τῆς ὕλης προϋφέστηκε.[2] λέγεταί τοι καὶ πρὸς Ἡρακλείτου[3]

ψυχῇσιν θάνατος ὑγρῇσι γενέσθαι·

τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Γάλλον, τὸν νοερὸν θεόν, τὸν τῶν ἐνύλων καὶ ὑπὸ σελήνην εἰδῶν συνοχέα, τῇ προτεταγμένῃ τῆς ὕλης αἰτίᾳ συνιόντα, συνιόντα δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλον ἄλλῃ, ἀλλ' οἷον αὐτὸ εἰς ἑαυτὸ[4] λέγο- 1
μεν[5] ὑποφερόμενον.

Τίς οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν; ἡ τῶν κυβερνώντων τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν θεῶν πηγή, ἡ καὶ τεκοῦσα καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ μεγάλῳ Διὶ θεὸς ὑποστᾶσα μεγάλη μετὰ τὸν μέγαν καὶ σὺν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημιουργῷ, ἡ πάσης μὲν κυρία ζωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενέσεως αἰτία, ἡ ῥᾷστα μὲν ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ ποιούμενα, γεννῶσα δὲ δίχα πάθους καὶ δημιουργοῦσα τὰ ὄντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· B
αὕτη καὶ παρθένος ἀμήτωρ καὶ Διὸς σύνθωκος καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν ὄντως οὖσα πάντων. τῶν γὰρ νοητῶν

[1] cf. Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 7; and Plato, *Republic* 514 A.

[2] προϋφέστηκε Hertlein suggests, προέστηκε MSS.

[3] *fr.* 36, Diels.

[4] ἑαυτὸ Shorey suggests, τοῦτο Hertlein, MSS.

[5] λέγομεν Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

less revolving sphere of the fifth substance. Only as far as this did the Mother of the Gods permit this fair intellectual god Attis, who resembles the sun's rays, to leap and dance. But when he passed beyond this limit and came even to the lowest region, the myth said that he had descended into the cave, and had wedded the nymph. And the nymph is to be interpreted as the dampness of matter; though the myth does not here mean matter itself, but the lowest immaterial cause which subsists prior to matter. Indeed Heracleitus also says: "It is death to souls to become wet." We mean therefore that this Gallus, the intellectual god, the connecting link between forms embodied in matter beneath the region of the moon, is united with the cause that is set over matter, but not in the sense that one sex is united with another, but like an element that is gathered to itself.

Who then is the Mother of the Gods? She is the source of the intellectual[1] and creative gods, who in their turn guide the visible gods: she is both the mother and the spouse of mighty Zeus; she came into being next to and together with the great creator; she is in control of every form of life, and the cause of all generation; she easily brings to perfection all things that are made; without pain she brings to birth, and with the father's[2] aid creates all things that are; she is the motherless maiden,[3] enthroned at the side of Zeus, and in very truth is the Mother of all the Gods. For having received

[1] cf. 170 D, 179 D. [2] *i.e.* Zeus.

[3] Hence she is the counterpart of Athene, cf. 179 A. Athene is Forethought among the intellectual gods; Cybele is Forethought among the intelligible gods and therefore superior to Athene; cf. 180 A.

ὑπερκοσμίων τε[1] θεῶν δεξαμένη πάντων τὰς[2] αἰτίας ἐν ἑαυτῇ πηγὴ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐγένετο. ταύτην δὴ τὴν θεὸν οὖσαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔρως μὲν ὑπῆλθεν ἀπαθὴς Ἄττιδος· ἐθελούσια γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐστὶν οὐ τὰ ἔνυλα μόνον εἴδη, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τὰ τούτων αἴτια. τὴν δὴ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ φθειρόμενα σώζουσαν προμήθειαν ἐρᾶν ὁ μῦθος C ἔφη τῆς δημιουργικῆς τούτων αἰτίας καὶ γονίμου, καὶ κελεύειν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τίκτειν μᾶλλον καὶ βούλεσθαι μὲν[3] πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπεστράφθαι καὶ συνοικεῖν, ἐπίταγμα δὲ ποιεῖσθαι, μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἅμα μὲν τὸ ἑνοειδὲς σωτήριον διώκουσαν, ἅμα δὲ φεύγουσαν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην νεῦσαν· πρὸς ἑαυτήν τε βλέπειν ἐκέλευσεν, οὖσαν πηγὴν μὲν τῶν δημιουργικῶν θεῶν, οὐ καθελκομένην δὲ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν οὐδὲ θελγομένην· οὕτω D γὰρ ἔμελλεν ὁ μέγας Ἄττις καὶ κρείττων[4] εἶναι δημιουργός, ἐπείπερ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπιστροφὴ μᾶλλόν ἐστι δραστήριος τῆς πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον νεύσεως. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πέμπτον σῶμα τούτῳ δημιουργικώτερόν ἐστι τῶν τῇδε καὶ θειότερον, τῷ μᾶλλον ἐστράφθαι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἐπεί τοι τὸ σῶμα, κἂν αἰθέρος ᾖ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, ψυχῆς ἀχράντου καὶ καθαρᾶς, ὁποίαν τὴν Ἡρακλέους ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐξέπεμψεν, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν κρεῖττον

[1] τε Hertlein suggests. [2] τὰς Hertlein suggests.
[3] μὲν Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.
[4] κρείττων Hertlein suggests, κρεῖττον MSS.

into herself the causes of all the gods, both intelligible and supra-mundane, she became the source of the intellectual gods. Now this goddess, who is also Forethought, was inspired with a passionless love for Attis. For not only the forms embodied in matter, but to a still greater degree the causes of those forms, voluntarily serve her and obey her will. Accordingly the myth relates the following: that she who is the Providence who preserves all that is subject to generation and decay, loved their creative and generative cause, and commanded that cause to beget offspring rather in the intelligible region; and she desired that it should turn towards herself and dwell with her, but condemned it to dwell with no other thing. For only thus would that creative cause strive towards the uniformity that preserves it, and at the same time would avoid that which inclines towards matter. And she bade that cause look towards her, who is the source of the creative gods, and not be dragged down or allured into generation. For in this way was mighty Attis destined to be an even mightier creation, seeing that in all things the conversion to what is higher produces more power to effect than the inclination to what is lower. And the fifth substance itself is more creative and more divine than the elements of our earth, for this reason, that it is more nearly connected with the gods. Not that anyone, surely, would venture to assert that any substance, even if it be composed of the purest aether, is superior to soul undefiled and pure, that of Heracles for instance, as it was when the creator sent it to earth. For that soul

τολμήσειε. τότε μέντοι ἦν τε καὶ ἐδόκει μᾶλλον δραστήριος, ἢ ὅτε[1] αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν ἐκείνῃ σώματι. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ νῦν Ἡρακλεῖ ὅλῳ πρὸς ὅλον κεχωρηκότι τὸν πατέρα ῥᾴων ἡ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια καθέστηκεν ἢ πρότερον ἦν, ὅτε ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σαρκία φορῶν ἐστρέφετο. οὕτως ἐν πᾶσι δραστήριος μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπόστασις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον στροφῆς. ὃ δὴ βουλόμενος ὁ μῦθος διδάξαι παραινέσαι φησὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν τῷ Ἄττιδι θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν καὶ μήτε ἀποχωρεῖν μήτε ἐρᾶν ἄλλης. ὁ δὲ προῆλθεν ἄχρι B τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς ὕλης κατελθών. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχρῆν παύσασθαί ποτε καὶ στῆναι τὴν ἀπειρίαν, Κορύβας μὲν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος, ὁ σύνθρονος τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ συνδημιουργῶν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα καὶ συμπρομηθουμενος καὶ οὐδὲν πράττων αὐτῆς δίχα, πείθει τὸν λέοντα μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι. τίς δὲ ὁ λέων; αἴθωνα δήπουθεν ἀκούομεν αὐτόν, αἰτίαν τοίνυν τὴν προϋφεστῶσαν[2] τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ πυρώδους, ἣ πολεμήσειν ἔμελλε C τῇ νύμφῃ καὶ ζηλοτυπήσειν αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἄττιν κοινωνίας· εἴρηται δὲ ἡμῖν τίς ἡ νύμφη· τῇ δὲ[3] δημιουργικῇ προμηθείᾳ τῶν ὄντων ὑπουργῆσαί φησιν ὁ μῦθος,[4] δηλαδὴ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν·

[1] ἢ ὅτε Shorey, ὅτε Hertlein, MSS.
[2] προϋφεστῶσαν Hertlein suggests, προεστῶσαν MSS.
[3] τῇ δὲ Hertlein suggests, τῇ MSS.
[4] φησιν ὁ μῦθος Hertlein suggests, φησι MSS.

of his both seemed to be and was more effective than after it had bestowed itself on a body. Since even Heracles, now that he has returned, one and indivisible, to his father one and indivisible, more easily controls his own province than formerly when he wore the garment of flesh and walked among men. And this shows that in all things the conversion to the higher is more effective than the propensity to the lower. This is what the myth aims to teach us when it says that the Mother of the Gods exhorted Attis not to leave her or to love another. But he went further, and descended even to the lowest limits of matter. Since, however, it was necessary that his limitless course should cease and halt at last, mighty Helios the Corybant,[1] who shares the Mother's throne and with her creates all things, with her has providence for all things, and apart from her does nothing, persuaded the Lion[2] to reveal the matter. And who is the Lion? Verily we are told that he is flame-coloured.[3] He is, therefore, the cause that subsists prior to the hot and fiery, and it was his task to contend against the nymph and to be jealous of her union with Attis. (And who the nymph is, I have said.) And the myth says that the Lion serves the creative Providence of the world, which evidently means the

[1] The Corybantes were the Phrygian priests of Cybele, who at Rome were called Galli.

[2] The Asiatic deities, especially Cybele, are often represented holding lions, or in cars drawn by them. cf. Catullus 63. 76, *juncta juga resolvens Cybele leonibus*, "Cybele unharnessed her team of lions"; she sends a lion in pursuit of Attis, cf. 168 B; Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs* 3. 2. 287 calls the sign of the lion "the dwelling of Helios."

[3] *Iliad* 10. 23 λέοντος αἴθωνος.

εἶτα φωράσαντα καὶ μηνυτὴν γενόμενον αἴτιον
γενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ τῆς ἐκτομῆς. ἡ δὲ ἐκτομὴ
τίς; ἐποχὴ τῆς ἀπειρίας· ἔστη γὰρ δὴ τὰ τῆς
γενέσεως ἐν ὡρισμένοις τοῖς εἴδεσιν ὑπὸ τῆς
δημιουργικῆς ἐπισχεθέντα προμηθείας, οὐκ ἄνευ D
τῆς τοῦ Ἄττιδος λεγομένης παραφροσύνης, ἣ τὸ
μέτριον ἐξισταμένη καὶ ὑπερβαίνουσα καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξασθενοῦσα καὶ οὐκέθ' αὐτῆς εἶναι
δυναμένη·[1] ὃ δὴ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑποστῆναι
τῶν θεῶν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἄλογον. σκόπει οὖν ἀναλ-
λοίωτον κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀλλοίωσιν τὸ πέμπτον
θεώμενος σῶμα περὶ τοὺς φωτισμοὺς τῆς σελήνης,
ἵνα λοιπὸν ὁ συνεχῶς γιγνόμενός τε καὶ ἀπολλύ-
μενος κόσμος γειτνιᾷ τῷ πέμπτῳ σώματι. περὶ 16
τοὺς φωτισμοὺς αὐτῆς ἀλλοίωσίν τινα καὶ πάθη
συμπίπτοντα θεωροῦμεν. οὐκ ἄτοπον οὖν καὶ
τὸν Ἄττιν τοῦτον ἡμίθεόν τινα εἶναι· βούλεται
γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τοῦτο· μᾶλλον δὲ θεὸν μὲν
τῷ παντί· πρόεισί τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου δημιουρ-
γοῦ καὶ ἐπανάγεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν
θεῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομήν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλως ῥέπειν καὶ[2]
νεύειν εἰς τὴν ὕλην δοκεῖ, θεῶν μὲν ἔσχατον,
ἔξαρχον δὲ τῶν θείων γενῶν ἁπάντων οὐκ ἂν B
ἁμάρτοι τις αὐτὸν ὑπολαβών. ἡμίθεον δὲ διὰ
τοῦτο ὁ μῦθός φησι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀτρέπτους
αὐτοῦ θεοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος διαφοράν. δορυφο-
ροῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς Μητρὸς δοθέντες οἱ
Κορύβαντες, αἱ τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς
κρεισσόνων γενῶν ὑποστάσεις. ἄρχει δὲ καὶ τῶν

[1] A finite verb *e.g.* φαίνεται is needed to complete the construction.
[2] καὶ Friederich, πέπεικε Hertlein, MSS.

Mother of the Gods. Then it says that by detecting and revealing the truth, he caused the youth's castration. What is the meaning of this castration? It is the checking of the unlimited. For now was generation confined within definite forms checked by creative Providence. And this would not have happened without the so-called madness of Attis, which overstepped and transgressed due measure, and thereby made him become weak so that he had no control over himself. And it is not surprising that this should come to pass, when we have to do with the cause that ranks lowest among the gods. For consider the fifth substance, which is subject to no change of any sort, in the region of the light of the moon: I mean where our world of continuous generation and decay borders on the fifth substance. We perceive that in the region of her light it seems to undergo certain alterations and to be affected by external influences. Therefore it is not contradictory to suppose that our Attis also is a sort of demigod—for that is actually the meaning of the myth—or rather for the universe he is wholly god, for he proceeds from the third creator, and after his castration is led upwards again to the Mother of the Gods But though he seems to lean and incline towards matter, one would not be mistaken in supposing that, though he is the lowest in order of the gods, nevertheless he is the leader of all the tribes of divine beings. But the myth calls him a demigod to indicate the difference between him and the unchanging gods. He is attended by the Corybants who are assigned to him by the Mother; they are the three leading personalities of the higher races[1]

[1] cf. *Oration* 4. 145 c.

λεόντων, οἳ τὴν ἔνθερμον οὐσίαν καὶ πυρώδη
κατανειμάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ σφῶν ἐξάρχου λέοντος
αἴτιοι τῷ πυρὶ μὲν πρώτως, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐνθένδε
θερμότητος ἐνεργείας τε κινητικῆς αἴτιοι καὶ τοῖς C
ἄλλοις εἰσὶ σωτηρίας· περίκειται δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἀντὶ τιάρας, ἐκεῖθεν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ γῆν ὁρμώμενος.

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν θεὸς Ἄττις ἐστίν· αὗται
τοῦ βασιλέως Ἄττιδος αἱ θρηνούμεναι τέως
φυγαὶ καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἀφανισμοὶ καὶ αἱ δύσεις
αἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον. τεκμήρια δὲ ἔστω μοι τούτου
ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ γίνεται. τέμνεσθαι γάρ φασι τὸ
ἱερὸν δένδρον καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον
τῆς ἰσημερινῆς ἀψῖδος ἔρχεται· εἶθ' ἑξῆς περισαλ-
πισμὸς παραλαμβάνεται· τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τέμνεται D
τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλου·
ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἱλάρια, φασί, καὶ ἑορταί. ὅτι μὲν
οὖν στάσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἡ θρυλουμένη
παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκτομή, πρόδηλον ἐξ ὧν
ἡνίκα ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ψαύσας
κύκλου, ἵνα τὸ μάλιστα ὡρισμένον ἐστί·[1] τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἴσον ὡρισμένον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἄνισον ἄπειρόν
τε καὶ ἀδιεξίτητον· κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα τὸ
δένδρον τέμνεται· εἶθ' ἑξῆς γίνεται τὰ λοιπά, τὰ 1

[1] A finite verb is needed to complete the construction. For the anacoluthon cf. 167 D.

that are next in order to the gods. Also Attis rules over the lions, who together with the Lion, who is their leader, have chosen for themselves hot and fiery substance, and so are, first and foremost, the cause of fire. And through the heat derived from fire they are the causes of motive force and of preservation for all other things that exist. And Attis encircles the heavens like a tiara, and thence sets out as though to descend to earth.

This, then, is our mighty god Attis. This explains his once lamented flight and concealment and disappearance and descent into the cave. In proof of this let me cite the time of year at which it happens. For we are told that the sacred tree[1] is felled on the day when the sun reaches the height of the equinox.[2] Thereupon the trumpets are sounded.[3] And on the third day the sacred and unspeakable member of the god Gallus is severed.[4] Next comes, they say, the Hilaria[5] and the festival. And that this castration, so much discussed by the crowd, is really the halting of his unlimited course, is evident from what happens directly mighty Helios touches the cycle of the equinox, where the bounds are most clearly defined. (For the even is bounded, but the uneven is without bounds, and there is no way through or out of it.) At that time then, precisely, according to the account we have, the sacred tree is felled. Thereupon, in

[1] A pine sacred to Attis was felled on March 22nd; cf. Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, p. 222.

[2] cf. 171 C, 175 A.

[3] March 23rd.

[4] March 24th was the date of the castration of the Galli, the priests of Attis.

[5] On March 25th the resurrection of Attis and the freeing of our souls from generation (γένεσις) was celebrated by the feast of the Hilaria.

μὲν διὰ τοὺς μυστικοὺς καὶ κρυφίους θεσμούς, τὰ
δὲ καὶ διὰ[1] ῥηθῆναι πᾶσι δυναμένους. ἡ δὲ
ἐκτομὴ τοῦ δένδρου, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ μὲν ἱστορίᾳ
προσήκει τῇ περὶ τὸν Γάλλον, οὐδὲν δὲ τοῖς
μυστηρίοις, οἷς παραλαμβάνεται, διδασκόντων
ἡμᾶς οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν συμβολικῶς, ὅτι χρὴ τὸ
κάλλιστον ἐκ γῆς δρεψαμένους, ἀρετὴν μετὰ
εὐσεβείας, ἀπενεγκεῖν τῇ θεῷ, σύμβολον τῆς
ἐνταῦθα χρηστῆς πολιτείας ἐσόμενον. τὸ γάρ
τοι δένδρον ἐκ γῆς μὲν φύεται, σπεύδει δὲ B
ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν τέ ἐστι καλὸν καὶ
σκιὰν παρασχεῖν ἐν πνίγει, ἤδη δὲ καὶ καρπὸν
ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προβαλεῖν καὶ χαρίσασθαι· οὕτως
αὐτῷ πολύ τί γε τοῦ γονίμου περίεστιν. ἡμῖν
οὖν ὁ θεσμὸς παρακελεύεται, τοῖς φύσει μὲν
οὐρανίοις, εἰς γῆν δὲ ἐνεχθεῖσιν, ἀρετὴν μετὰ εὐσε-
βείας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ πολιτείας ἀμησαμένους
παρὰ τὴν προγονικὴν καὶ ζωογόνον σπεύδειν θεόν. C

Εὐθὺς οὖν ἡ σάλπιγξ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν
ἐνδίδωσι τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῷ Ἄττιδι καὶ τοῖς
ὅσοι ποτὲ οὐρανόθεν ἔπτημεν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ
ἐπέσομεν. μετὰ δὴ τὸ σύμβολον τοῦτο, ὅτε ὁ
βασιλεὺς Ἄττις ἵστησι τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς
ἐκτομῆς, ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύουσιν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ
αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπειρίαν καὶ μιμεῖσθαι
τοὺς ἡγεμόνας,[2] ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὡρισμένον καὶ ἑνοειδὲς καί,
εἴπερ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἓν ἀνατρέχειν· οὗπερ D
γενομένου πάντως ἕπεσθαι χρὴ τὰ Ἱλάρια. τί
γὰρ εὐθυμότερον, τί δὲ ἱλαρώτερον γένοιτο ἂν
ψυχῆς ἀπειρίαν μὲν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ

[1] καὶ διὰ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.
[2] ἡγεμόνας Shorey, cf. 170 A, B, ἡμῶν Hertlein, MSS.

their proper order, all the other ceremonies take place. Some of them are celebrated with the secret ritual of the Mysteries, but others by a ritual that can be told to all. For instance, the cutting of the tree belongs to the story of Gallus and not to the Mysteries at all, but it has been taken over by them, I think because the gods wished to teach us, in symbolic fashion, that we must pluck the fairest fruits from the earth, namely, virtue and piety, and offer them to the goddess to be the symbol of our well-ordered constitution here on earth. For the tree grows from the soil, but it strives upwards as though to reach the upper air, and it is fair to behold and gives us shade in the heat, and casts before us and bestows on us its fruits as a boon; such is its superabundance of generative life. Accordingly the ritual enjoins on us, who by nature belong to the heavens but have fallen to earth, to reap the harvest of our constitution here on earth, namely, virtue and piety, and then strive upwards to the goddess of our forefathers, to her who is the principle of all life.

Therefore, immediately after the castration, the trumpet sounds the recall for Attis and for all of us who once flew down from heaven and fell to earth. And after this signal, when King Attis stays his limitless course by his castration, the god bids us also root out the unlimited in ourselves and imitate the gods our leaders and hasten back to the defined and uniform, and, if it be possible, to the One itself. After this, the Hilaria must by all means follow. For what could be more blessed, what more joyful than a soul which has escaped from limitlessness

κλύδωνα διαφυγούσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναχθείσης; ὧν ἕνα καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ὄντα περιεῖδεν οὐδαμῶς ἡ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ βαδίζοντα πρόσω πλέον ἢ χρῆν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν δὲ ἐπέστρεψε, στῆσαι τὴν ἀπειρίαν προστάξασα.

Καὶ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ με λέγειν, ὡς ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ποτὲ καὶ γέγονεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδότων 171 τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ὅ, τι ποιήσουσιν, ἢ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἁμαρτήματα διορθουμένων. ἀλλὰ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀεὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἤτοι τῶν θεῶν ὑφηγουμένων ἢ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διερευνώμενοι, βέλτιον δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν ζητοῦντες ὑφ᾽ ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔπειτα εὑρόντες ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὰς[1] μύθοις παραδόξοις, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπεμφαίνοντος τὸ πλάσμα φωραθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας προτρέψῃ, τοῖς μὲν B ἰδιώταις ἀρκούσης οἶμαι τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ διὰ τῶν συμβόλων μόνων ὠφελείας, τοῖς δὲ περιττοῖς κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν οὕτως μόνως ἐσομένης ὠφελίμου τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀληθείας, εἴ τις ἐξετάζων αὐτὴν ὑφ᾽ ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὕροι καὶ λάβοι, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ὑπομνησθείς, ὅτι χρή τι περὶ αὐτῶν ζητεῖν, ἐς τέλος δὲ καὶ ὥσπερ κορυφὴν τοῦ πράγματος διὰ τῆς σκέψεως εὑρὼν πορευθείη, οὐκ C

[1] αὐτὰς Hertlein suggests, αὐτὰ MSS.

and generation and inward storm, and has been translated up to the very gods? And Attis himself was such a one, and the Mother of the Gods by no means allowed him to advance unregarded further than was permitted: nay, she made him turn towards herself, and commanded him to set a limit to his limitless course.

But let no one suppose my meaning to be that this was ever done or happened in a way that implies that the gods themselves are ignorant of what they intend to do, or that they have to correct their own errors. But our ancestors in every case tried to trace the original meanings of things, whether with the guidance of the gods or independently—though perhaps it would be better to say that they sought for them under the leadership of the gods—then when they had discovered those meanings they clothed them in paradoxical myths. This was in order that, by means of the paradox and the incongruity, the fiction might be detected and we might be induced to search out the truth. Now I think ordinary men derive benefit enough from the irrational myth which instructs them through symbols alone. But those who are more highly endowed with wisdom will find the truth about the gods helpful; though only on condition that such a man examine and discover and comprehend it under the leadership of the gods, and if by such riddles as these he is reminded that he must search out their meaning, and so attains to the goal and summit of his quest[1] through his own researches; he must not

[1] 169 D–170 C is a digression on the value of myths, which the wise man is not to accept without an allegorising interpretation; cf. *Oration* 7. 216 C.

αἰδοῖ καὶ πίστει μᾶλλον ἀλλοτρίας δόξης ἢ τῇ σφετέρᾳ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείᾳ.

Τί οὖν εἶναί φαμεν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ; κατανοήσαντες ἄχρι τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐ τὸ νοητὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ταῦτα σώματα τῆς ἀπαθοῦς ὄντα καὶ θείας μερίδος, ἄχρι τούτου θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν ἀκραιφνεῖς εἶναι· τῇ γονίμῳ δὲ τῶν θεῶν οὐσίᾳ τῶν τῇδε παρυποστάντων, ἐξ ἀιδίου συμπροελθούσης τῆς ὕλης τοῖς θεοῖς, παρ᾽ αὐτῶν D
δὲ καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὑπέρπληρες αὐτῶν τῆς γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικῆς αἰτίας ἡ τῶν ὄντων προμήθεια συνουσιωμένη τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξ ἀιδίου, καὶ σύνθωκος μὲν οὖσα τῷ βασιλεῖ Διί, πηγὴ δὲ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄζωον καὶ ἄγονον καὶ σκύβαλον καὶ τῶν ὄντων, οἷον ἂν εἴποι τις, ἀποκάθαρμα καὶ τρύγα καὶ ὑποσταθμὴν διὰ τῆς τελευταίας αἰτίας[1] *τῶν θεῶν, εἰς ἣν αἱ πάντων οὐσίαι τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελευτῶσιν, ἐκόσμησέ τε καὶ διωρθώσατο καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μετέστησεν.*

Ὁ γὰρ Ἄττις οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατάστικτον τοῖς 17
ἄστροις τιάραν εὔδηλον ὅτι τὰς πάντων τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ὁρωμένας λήξεις ἀρχὰς ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας· ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ καθαρὸν ἦν ἄχρι γαλαξίου· περὶ τοῦτον δὲ ἤδη τὸν τόπον μιγνυμένου πρὸς τὸ

[1] τελευταίας αἰτίας Hertlein suggests, τελευταίας MSS.

be modest and put faith in the opinions of others rather than in his own mental powers.

What shall I say now by way of summary? Because men observed that, as far as the fifth substance, not only the intelligible world but also the visible bodies of our world must be classed as unaffected by externals and divine, they believed that, as far as the fifth substance, the gods are uncompounded. And when by means of that generative substance the visible gods came into being, and, from everlasting, matter was produced along with those gods, from them and through their agency, by reason of the superabundance in them of the generative and creative principle; then the Providence of the world, she who from everlasting is of the same essential nature as the gods, she who is enthroned by the side of King Zeus, and moreover is the source of the intellectual gods, set in order and corrected and changed for the better all that seemed lifeless and barren, the refuse and so to speak offscourings of things, their dregs and sediment: and this she did by means of the last cause[1] derived from the gods, in which the substances of all the gods come to an end.

For it is evident that Attis of whom I speak, who wears the tiara set with stars, took for the foundation of his own dominion the functions of every god as we see them applied to the visible world. And in his case all is undefiled and pure as far as the Milky Way. But, at this very point, that which

[1] In 167 D Attis was identified with the light of the moon; cf. *Oration* 4. 150 A: where the moon is called the lowest of the spheres, who gives form to the world of matter that lies below her; cf. Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 4. 14. 23: where Attis is called the creator of our world.

ἀπαθὲς τοῦ παθητοῦ καὶ τῆς ὕλης παρυφισταμένης ἐκεῖθεν, ἡ πρὸς ταύτην κοινωνία κατάβασίς ἐστιν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, οὐκ ἀκουσίως μὲν γενομένη τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων Μητρί, λεγομένη δὲ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι. φύσει γὰρ ἐν κρείττονι τοὺς θεοὺς ὄντας οὐκ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τάδε καθέλκειν ἐθέλει τὰ βελτίω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων συγκαταβάσεως καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνονα καὶ θεοφιλεστέραν λῆξιν. οὕτω τοι καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν οὐ κατεχθραίνουσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἡ Μήτηρ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἀγανακτεῖ μὲν οὐκέτι, ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὴν συγκατάβασιν, ὅτι κρείττων ὢν καὶ θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ καταδεεστέρῳ· στήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν πρόοδον καὶ τὸ ἀκόσμητον τοῦτο κοσμήσαντα διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἰσημερινὸν κύκλον συμπαθείας, ἵνα ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος τῆς ὡρισμένης κινήσεως τὸ τελειότατον κυβερνᾷ μέτρον, ἐπανάγει πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡ θεὸς ἀσμένως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῇ. καὶ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν, ὅτε μὴ ταῦτα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ νῦν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ μὲν Ἄττις ἐστὶν ὑπουργὸς τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ ἡνίοχος, ἀεὶ δὲ ὀργᾷ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀποτέμνεται τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς ὡρισμένης τῶν εἰδῶν αἰτίας. ἐπαναγόμενος δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων αὖθις λέγεται δυναστεύειν σκήπτρων, ἐκπεσὼν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐ-

(margin letters: B beside "ἐστιν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον…", C beside "ὅτι κρείττων…", D beside "ὑπουργὸς τῇ Μητρὶ…")

is troubled by passion begins to mingle with the passionless, and from that union matter begins to subsist. And so the association of Attis with matter is the descent into the cave, nor did this take place against the will of the gods and the Mother of the Gods, though the myth says that it was against their will. For by their nature the gods dwell in a higher world, and the higher powers do not desire to drag them hence down to our world: rather through the condescension of the higher they desire to lead the things of our earth upwards to a higher plane more favoured by the gods. And in fact the myth does not say that the Mother of the Gods was hostile to Attis after his castration: but it says that though she is no longer angry, she was angry at the time on account of his condescension, in that he who was a higher being and a god had given himself to that which was inferior. But when, after staying his limitless progress, he has set in order the chaos of our world through his sympathy with the cycle of the equinox, where mighty Helios controls the most perfect symmetry of his motion within due limits, then the goddess gladly leads him upwards to herself, or rather keeps him by her side. And never did this happen save in the manner that it happens now; but forever is Attis the servant and charioteer of the Mother; forever he yearns passionately towards generation; and forever he cuts short his unlimited course through the cause whose limits are fixed, even the cause of the forms. In like manner the myth says that he is led upwards as though from our earth, and again resumes his ancient sceptre and dominion: not that he ever lost it, or ever loses it now, but the myth says that he lost it on account of

δαμῶς οὐδὲ ἐκπίπτων, ἐκπεσεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν λεγόμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ παθητὸν σύμμιξιν.

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἴσως ἄξιον προσαπορῆσαι· διττῆς
γὰρ οὔσης τῆς ἰσημερίας, οὐ τὴν ἐν ταῖς χηλαῖς, 17
τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ κριῷ προτιμῶσι. τίς οὖν αἰτία
τούτου, φανερὸν δήπουθεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ
ἥλιος ἄρχεται τότε πλησιάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσημερίας,
αὐξομένης οἶμαι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἔδοξεν οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς
ἁρμοδιώτερος. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἥ φησι τοῖς
θεοῖς εἶναι τὸ φῶς σύνδρομον, ἔχειν οἰκείως πισ-
τευτέον τοῖς ἀφεθῆναι τῆς γενέσεως σπεύδουσι
τὰς ἀναγωγοὺς ἀκτῖνας ἡλίου. σκόπει δὲ ἐναρ- B
γῶς· ἕλκει μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πάντα καὶ προκα-
λεῖται[1] καὶ βλαστάνειν ποιεῖ τῇ ζωπυρίδι καὶ
θαυμαστῇ θέρμῃ, διακρίνων οἶμαι πρὸς ἄκραν
λεπτότητα τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὰ φύσει φερόμενα
κάτω κουφίζει. τὰ δὴ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀφανῶν
αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ποιητέον τεκμήρια. ὁ γὰρ ἐν
τοῖς σώμασι διὰ τῆς σωματοειδοῦς θέρμης οὕτω
τοῦτο ἀπεργαζόμενος πῶς οὐ διὰ τῆς ἀφανοῦς καὶ
ἀσωμάτου πάντῃ καὶ θείας καὶ καθαρᾶς ἐν ταῖς
ἀκτῖσιν ἱδρυμένης οὐσίας ἕλξει καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς
εὐτυχεῖς ψυχάς; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν οἰκεῖον C
μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ φῶς τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἀναχθῆναι σπεύδουσιν, αὔξεται δὲ ἐν τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν κόσμῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὥστε εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν μείζω τῆς νυκτός, Ἡλίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὸν κριὸν ἀρξαμένου· δέδεικται δὴ καὶ[2] ἀναγωγὸν

[1] προκαλεῖται Hertlein suggests, προσκαλεῖται MSS.
[2] δὴ καὶ Hertlein suggests, δὲ καὶ V, καὶ MSS.

his union with that which is subject to passion and change.

But perhaps it is worth while to raise the following question also. There are two equinoxes, but men pay more honour to the equinox in the sign of Capricorn than to that in the sign of Cancer.[1] Surely the reason for this is evident. Since the sun begins to approach us immediately after the spring equinox,—for I need not say that then the days begin to lengthen,—this seemed the more agreeable season. For apart from the explanation which says that light accompanies the gods, we must believe that the uplifting rays[2] of the sun are nearly akin to those who yearn to be set free from generation. Consider it clearly: the sun, by his vivifying and marvellous heat, draws up all things from the earth and calls them forth and makes them grow; and he separates, I think, all corporeal things to the utmost degree of tenuity, and makes things weigh light that naturally have a tendency to sink. We ought then to make these visible things proofs of his unseen powers. For if among corporeal things he can bring this about through his material heat, how should he not draw and lead upwards the souls of the blessed by the agency of the invisible, wholly immaterial, divine and pure substance which resides in his rays? We have seen then that this light is nearly akin to the god, and to those who yearn to mount upwards, and moreover, that this light increases in our world, so that when Helios begins to enter the sign of Capricorn the day becomes longer than the night. It

[1] Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 22, says that Cancer and Capricorn are the two gates of the sun; and that souls descend through Cancer and rise aloft through Capricorn.

[2] This seems to identify Attis with the sun's rays.

φύσει τὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τοῦ θεοῦ διά τε τῆς φανερᾶς ἐνεργείας καὶ τῆς ἀφανοῦς, ὑφ' ἧς παμπληθεῖς ἀνήχθησαν ψυχαὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀκολουθήσασαι τῇ φανοτάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἡλιοειδεῖ. τὴν γὰρ τοιαύτην τῶν ὀμμάτων αἴσθησιν οὐκ ἀγαπητὴν μόνον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς σοφίαν ὁδηγὸν ὁ δαιμόνιος ἀνύμνησε Πλάτων.[1] εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρρήτου μυσταγωγίας ἁψαίμην, ἣν ὁ Χαλδαῖος περὶ τὸν ἑπτάκτινα θεὸν ἐβάκχευσεν, ἀνάγων δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς ψυχάς, ἄγνωστα ἐρῶ, καὶ μάλα γε ἄγνωστα τῷ συρφετῷ, θεουργοῖς δὲ 1
τοῖς μακαρίοις γνώριμα· διόπερ αὐτὰ σιωπήσω τανῦν.

Ὅπερ δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑποληπτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα μετὰ εἰκότος καὶ ἀληθοῦς λόγου παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ θεσμῷ προστεθεῖσθαι, σημεῖον δὴ[2] τούτου, ὅτι τὸν ἰσημερινὸν κύκλον ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ[3] κατενείματο. τελεῖται γὰρ περὶ τὸν ζυγὸν Δηοῖ καὶ Κόρῃ τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ

[1] *Phaedrus* 250 D, *Timaeus* 47 A, *Republic* 507–508.
[2] δὴ Shorey, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
[3] αὐτὴ Wright, αὕτη MSS., Hertlein.

has also been demonstrated that the god's rays are by nature uplifting; and this is due to his energy, both visible and invisible, by which very many souls have been lifted up out of the region of the senses, because they were guided by that sense which is clearest of all and most nearly like the sun. For when with our eyes we perceive the sun's light, not only is it welcome and useful for our lives, but also, as the divine Plato said when he sang its praises, it is our guide to wisdom. And if I should also touch on the secret teaching of the Mysteries in which the Chaldean,[1] divinely frenzied, celebrated the God of the Seven Rays, that god through whom he lifts up the souls of men, I should be saying what is unintelligible, yea wholly unintelligible to the common herd, but familiar to the happy theurgists.[2] And so I will for the present be silent on that subject.

I was saying that we ought not to suppose that the ancients appointed the season of the rites irrationally, but rather as far as possible with plausible and true grounds of reason; and indeed a proof of this is that the goddess herself chose as her province the cycle of the equinox. For the most holy and secret Mysteries of Deo and the Maiden[3] are celebrated when the

[1] Chaldean astrology and the Chaldean oracles are often cited with respect by the Neo-Platonists; for allusions to their worship of the Seven-rayed Mithras (Helios) cf. Damascius 294 and Proclus on *Timaeus* 1. 11.

[2] *e.g.* Iamblichus and especially Maximus of Ephesus who is a typical theurgist of the fourth century A.D. and was supposed to work miracles.

[3] The Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone; the Lesser were celebrated in February, the greater in September.

ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως γίνεται. B
χρὴ γὰρ καὶ ἀπιόντι τῷ θεῷ τελεσθῆναι πάλιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ σκοτεινῆς δυσχερὲς πάθωμεν ἐπικρατούσης δυνάμεως. δὶς γοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Δηοῖ τελοῦσι τὰ μυστήρια, ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν τῷ κριῷ τὰ μικρὰ, φασί, μυστήρια, τὰ μεγάλα δὲ περὶ τὰς χηλὰς ὄντος ἡλίου, δι᾽ ἃς ἔναγχος ἔφην αἰτίας. μεγάλα δὲ ὠνομάσθαι καὶ μικρὰ νομίζω καὶ ἄλλων ἕνεκα, μάλιστα δέ, ὡς εἰκός, τούτου ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἤπερ
προσιόντος· διόπερ ἐν τούτοις ὅσον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν C
μόνον. ἅτε δὴ καὶ παρόντος τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ ἀναγωγοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ προτέλεια κατεβάλλοντο τῆς τελετῆς· εἶτα μικρὸν ὕστερον ἁγνεῖαι συνεχεῖς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων[1] ἁγιστεῖαι. ἀπιόντος δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀντίχθονα ζώνην, καὶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐπιτελεῖται τῶν μυστηρίων. ὅρα δέ· ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον ἀποτέμνεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις οἱ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἁπτόμενοι παναγεῖς
εἰσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐξάρχων ἱεροφάντης ἀπέ- 1
στραπται πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν, ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπ᾽ ἄπειρον προόδου, τῆς ὡρισμένης δὲ καὶ ἀεὶ μενούσης καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ συνεχομένης οὐσίας ἀκηράτου τε καὶ καθαρᾶς. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα.

Λείπεται δὴ λοιπόν, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπέρ τε τῆς ἁγιστείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγνείας διεξελθεῖν, ἵνα καὶ

[1] ἱερέων Hertlein suggests, ἱερῶν MSS.

sun is in the sign of Libra, and this is quite natural. For when the gods depart we must consecrate ourselves afresh, so that we may suffer no harm from the godless power of darkness that now begins to get the upper hand. At any rate the Athenians celebrate the Mysteries of Deo twice in the year, the Lesser Mysteries as they call them in the sign of Capricorn, and the Great Mysteries when the sun is in the sign of Cancer, and this for the reason that I have just mentioned. And I think that these Mysteries are called Great and Lesser for several reasons, but especially, as is natural, they are called great when the god departs rather than when he approaches; and so the Lesser are celebrated only by way of reminder.[1] I mean that when the saving and uplifting god approaches, the preliminary rites of the Mysteries take place. Then a little later follow the rites of purification, one after another, and the consecration of the priests. Then when the god departs to the antipodes, the most important ceremonies of the Mysteries are performed, for our protection and salvation. And observe the following: As in the festival of the Mother the instrument of generation is severed, so too with the Athenians, those who take part in the secret rites are wholly chaste and their leader the hierophant forswears generation; because he must not have aught to do with the progress to the unlimited, but only with the substance whose bounds are fixed, so that it abides for ever and is contained in the One, stainless and pure. On this subject I have said enough.

It only remains now to speak, as is fitting, about the sacred rite itself, and the purification, so that from

[1] Plato, *Gorgias* 497 C; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 900 B.

ἐντεῦθεν λάβωμεν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἴ τι συμβάλλεται. γελοῖον δὲ αὐτίκα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνο φαίνεται· κρεῶν μὲν ἅπτεσθαι δίδωσιν ὁ ἱερὸς νόμος, ἀπαγορεύει δὲ τῶν σπερμάτων. οὐκ ἄψυχα μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα δὲ ἔμψυχα; οὐ καθαρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα δὲ αἵματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὐκ εὐχερῶν ὄψει τε καὶ ἀκοῇ πεπληρωμένα; οὐ, τὸ μέγιστον, ἐκείνοις μὲν πρόσεστι τὸ μηδένα ἐκ τῆς ἐδωδῆς ἀδικεῖσθαι, τούτοις δὲ τὸ καταθύεσθαι καὶ κατασφάττεσθαι τὰ ζῷα ἀλγοῦντά γε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ τρυχόμενα; ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν περιττῶν εἴποιεν ἄν· ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἤδη κωμῳδοῦσι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ δυσσεβέστατοι. τὰ μὲν ὄρμενά φασιν ἐσθίεσθαι τῶν λαχάνων, παραιτεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ῥίζας, ὥσπερ γογγυλίδας. καὶ σῦκα μὲν ἐσθίεσθαί φασι, ῥοιὰς δὲ οὐκέτι καὶ μῆλα πρὸς τούτοις. ταῦτα ἀκηκοὼς μινυριζόντων πολλῶν πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς[1] πρότερον ἔοικα ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκ πάντων πολλὴν εἴσεσθαι τοῖς δεσπόταις θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν ἅπασι, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάριν, ὅτι με μὴ περιεῖδεν ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ πλανώμενον, ἀλλά μοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόψασθαι οὔτι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ψυχικὰς ἀλόγους ὁρμὰς καὶ κινήσεις τῇ νοερᾷ καὶ προϋφεστώσῃ[2] τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν αἰτίᾳ τὰ περιττὰ καὶ μάταια. ἐπὶ νοῦν δὲ ἔδωκεν αὕτη λόγους τινὰς ἴσως οὐκ ἀπᾴδοντας πάντῃ τῆς ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀληθοῦς ἅμα καὶ

[1] αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς Hertlein suggests, εἰρηκὼς MSS.
[2] προϋφεστώσῃ Hertlein suggests, προεστώσῃ MSS.

these also I may borrow whatever contributes to my argument. For example, everyone thinks that the following is ridiculous. The sacred ordinance allows men to eat meat, but it forbids them to eat grains and fruits. What, say they, are not the latter lifeless, whereas the former was once possessed of life? Are not fruits pure, whereas meat is full of blood and of much else that offends eye and ear? But most important of all is it not the case that, when one eats fruit nothing is hurt, while the eating of meat involves the sacrifice and slaughter of animals who naturally suffer pain and torment? So would say many even of the wisest. But the following ordinance is ridiculed by the most impious of mankind also. They observe that whereas vegetables that grow upwards can be eaten, roots are forbidden, turnips, for instance; and they point out that figs are allowed, but not pomegranates or apples either. I have often heard many men saying this in whispers, and I too in former days have said the same, but now it seems that I alone of all men am bound to be deeply grateful to the ruling gods, to all of them, surely, but above all the rest to the Mother of the Gods. For all things am I grateful to her, and for this among the rest, that she did not disregard me when I wandered as it were in darkness.[1] For first she bade me cut off no part indeed of my body, but by the aid of the intelligible cause [2] that subsists prior to our souls, all that was superfluous and vain in the impulses and motions of my own soul. And that cause gave me, to aid my understanding, certain beliefs which are perhaps not wholly out of harmony

[1] cf. *Oration* 4. 131 A. [2] Attis.

εὐαγοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀλλ' ἔοικα γάρ, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι φῶ, κύκλῳ περιτρέχειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πάρεστι μὲν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιόντι σαφεῖς καὶ τηλαυγεῖς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, τοῦ χάριν ἡμῖν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ προσφέρεσθαι ταῦτα, ὧν ὁ θεῖος εἴργει θεσμός· καὶ ποιήσω δὲ[1] αὐτὸ μικρὸν ὕστερον· ἄμεινον δὲ νῦν ὥσπερ τύπους τινὰς προθεῖναι καὶ κανόνας, οἷς ἑπόμενοι, κἄν τι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς παρέλθῃ τὸν λόγον, ἕξομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων κρῖναι.

Προσήκει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπομνῆσαι διὰ βραχέων, 17
τίνα τε ἔφαμεν εἶναι τὸν Ἄττιν καὶ τί τὴν ἐκτομήν, τίνος τε εἶναι σύμβολα τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱλαρίων γινόμενα καὶ τί βούλεσθαι τὴν ἁγνείαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄττις ἐλέγετο αἰτία τις οὖσα καὶ θεός, ὁ προσεχῶς δημιουργῶν τὸν ἔνυλον κόσμον, ὃς μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων κατιὼν ἵσταται ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλίου δημιουργικῆς κινήσεως, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρως ὡρισμένης τοῦ παντὸς ὁ θεὸς B
γένηται περιφερείας, ᾗ[2] τῆς ἰσημερίας τοὔνομά ἐστι κατὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐκτομὴν δὲ ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν ἐποχήν, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἀρχηγικωτέρας αἰτίας ἀνακλήσεώς τε καὶ ἀναδύσεως συμβαίνειν. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἁγνείας φαμὲν τὸν σκοπὸν ἄνοδον τῶν ψυχῶν.

Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐᾷ πρῶτον σιτεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ γῆς δυόμενα σπέρματα· ἔσχατον μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἡ γῆ. ἐνταῦθα δέ φησιν ἀπελαθέντα καὶ Πλάτων τὰ κακὰ στρέφεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τῶν λογίων οἱ θεοὶ

[1] δὲ Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.
[2] ᾗ Hertlein suggests, οὗ MSS.

with the true and sacred knowledge of the gods. But it looks as though, not knowing what to say next, I were turning round in a circle. I can, however, give clear and manifest reasons in every single case why we are not allowed to eat this food which is forbidden by the sacred ordinance, and presently I will do this. But for the moment it is better to bring forward certain forms, so to speak, and regulations which we must observe in order to be able to decide about these matters, though perhaps, owing to my haste, my argument may pass some evidence by.

First I had better remind you in a few words who I said Attis is; and what his castration means; and what is symbolised by the ceremonies that occur between the castration and the Hilaria; and what is meant by the rite of purification. Attis then was declared to be an original cause and a god, the direct creator of the material world, who descends to the lowest limits and is checked by the creative motion of the sun so soon as that god reaches the exactly limited circuit of the universe, which is called the equinox because of its effect in equalising night and day.[1] And I said that the castration meant the checking of limitlessness, which could only be brought about through the summons and resurrection of Attis to the more venerable and commanding causes. And I said that the end and aim of the rite of purification is the ascent of our souls.

For this reason then the ordinance forbids us first to eat those fruits that grow downwards in the earth. For the earth is the last and lowest of things. And Plato also says[2] that evil, exiled from the gods,

[1] cf. 168 D–169 A, 171 C.
[2] *Theaetetus* 176 A; cf. *Oration* 2. 90 A.

σκύβαλον αὐτὸ πολλαχοῦ καλοῦσι, καὶ φεύγειν ἐντεῦθεν παρακελεύονται.[1] *πρῶτον οὖν ἡ ζωογόνος καὶ προμηθὴς θεὸς οὐδὲ ἄχρι τῆς τῶν σωμάτων τροφῆς ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς κατὰ γῆς δυομένοις χρῆσθαι, παραινοῦσά γε πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπειν. ἑνί τινες κέχρηνται σπέρματι, τοῖς λοβοῖς, οὐ σπέρμα μᾶλλον ἢ λάχανον αὐτὸ νομίζοντες εἶναι τῷ πεφυκέναι πως ἀνωφερὲς καὶ ὀρθὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐρριζῶσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς· ἐρρίζωται δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ δένδρου κιττοῦ τινος ἢ καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸς ἤρτηται καὶ καλάμης.*[2] *ἀπηγόρευται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν σπέρματι χρῆσθαι διὰ τοῦτο φυτῶν, ἐπιτέτραπται δὲ χρῆσθαι καρποῖς καὶ λαχάνοις, οὐ τοῖς χαμαιζήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ γῆς αἰρομένοις ἄνω μετεώροις. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τῆς γογγυλίδος τὸ μὲν γεωχαρὲς ὡς χθόνιον ἐπιτάττει παραιτεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀναδυόμενον ἄνω καὶ εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενον ὡς αὐτῷ τούτῳ καθαρὸν τυγχάνον δίδωσι προσενέγκασθαι. τῶν γοῦν λαχάνων ὁρμένοις μὲν συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι, ῥίζαις δὲ ἀπαγορεύει καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐντρεφομέναις καὶ συμπαθούσαις τῇ γῇ. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν δένδρων μῆλα μὲν ὡς ἱερὰ καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀρρήτων ἄθλων καὶ τελεστικῶν εἰκόνας καταφθείρειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ καταναλίσκειν, ἄξιά γε ὄντα τῶν ἀρχετύπων χάριν τοῦ*

[1] *παρακελεύονται* Wyttenbach, *πολλαχοῦ παρακελεύονται* Hertlein, MSS.

[2] The construction of *καὶ καλάμης* is not clear; Petavius suspects corruption or omission.

now moves on earth; and in the oracles the gods often call the earth refuse, and exhort us to escape thence. And so, in the first place, the life-generating god who is our providence does not allow us to use to nourish our bodies fruits that grow under the earth; and thereby enjoins that we turn our eyes towards the heavens, or rather above the heavens.[1] One kind of fruit of the earth, however, some people do eat, I mean fruit in pods, because they regard this as a vegetable rather than a fruit, since it grows with a sort of upward tendency and is upright, and not rooted below the soil; I mean that it is rooted like the fruit of the ivy that hangs on a tree or of the vine that hangs on a stem. For this reason then we are forbidden to eat seeds and certain plants, but we are allowed to eat fruit and vegetables, only not those that creep on the ground, but those that are raised up from the earth and hang high in the air. It is surely for this reason that the ordinance bids us also avoid that part of the turnip which inclines to the earth since it belongs to the under world, but allows us to eat that part which grows upwards and attains to some height, since by that very fact it is pure. In fact it allows us to eat any vegetables that grow upwards, but forbids us roots, and especially those which are nourished in and influenced by the earth. Moreover in the case of trees it does not allow us to destroy and consume apples, for these are sacred and golden and are the symbols of secret and mystical rewards. Rather are they worthy to be reverenced and worshipped for the sake of their archetypes.

[1] *i.e.* to the intelligible world and the One; cf. 169 C.

σέβεσθαί τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι· ῥοιὰς δὲ ὡς φυτὸν B
χθόνιον παρῃτήσατο, καὶ τοῦ φοίνικος δὲ τὸν
καρπὸν ἴσως μὲν ἄν τις εἴποι διὰ τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι
περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, ἔνθα πρῶτον ὁ θεσμὸς κατέστη·
ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὡς ἱερὸν ἡλίου τὸ φυτὸν
ἀγήρων τε ὂν οὐ συγχωρῆσαι καταναλίσκειν ἐν
ταῖς ἁγιστείαις εἰς τροφὴν σώματος. ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἀπηγόρευται ἰχθύσιν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι. κοινὸν δέ
ἐστι τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους τὸ πρόβλημα. C
δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε δυοῖν ἕνεκεν ἄν τις ἰχθύων μάλιστα
μὲν ἀεί, πάντως δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁγιστείαις ἀποσχέσθαι,
ἑνὸς μέν, ὅτι τούτων, ἃ μὴ θύομεν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐδὲ
σιτεῖσθαι προσήκει. δέος δὲ ἴσως οὐδέν, μή πού
τις ἐνταῦθα λίχνος καὶ γάστρις ἐπιλάβηταί μου,
ὥς που καὶ πρότερον ἤδη παθὼν αὐτὸ διαμνη-
μονεύω, "Διὰ τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ θύομεν αὐτῶν
πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς"; εἰπόντος ἀκούσας. ἀλλ'
εἴχομέν τι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. καὶ θύομέν γε, D
ἔφην, ὦ μακάριε, ἔν τισι τελεστικαῖς θυσίαις, ὡς
ἵππον Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ
ζῷα, κύνας ἴσως Ἕλληνες Ἑκάτῃ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι
δέ· καὶ πολλὰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐστὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν,
καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἢ δὶς
τοιαῦτα θύματα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις, ὧν
μόνων κοινωνεῖν ἄξιον καὶ τραπεζοῦν θεοῖς. τοὺς
δὲ ἰχθύας ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις οὐ θύομεν, ὅτι μήτε

And pomegranates are forbidden because they belong to the under-world; and the fruit of the date-palm, perhaps one might say because the date-palm does not grow in Phrygia where the ordinance was first established. But my own theory is rather that it is because this tree is sacred to the sun, and is perennial, that we are forbidden to use it to nourish our bodies during the sacred rites. Besides these, the use of all kinds of fish is forbidden. This is a question of interest to the Egyptians as well as to ourselves. Now my opinion is that for two reasons we ought to abstain from fish, at all times if possible, but above all during the sacred rites. One reason is that it is not fitting that we should eat what we do not use in sacrifices to the gods. And perhaps I need not be afraid that hereupon some greedy person who is the slave of his belly will take me up, though as I remember that very thing happened to me once before; and then I heard someone objecting: "What do you mean? Do we not often sacrifice fish to the gods?" But I had an answer ready for this question also. "My good sir," I said, "it is true that we make offerings of fish in certain mystical sacrifices, just as the Romans sacrifice the horse and many other animals too, both wild and domesticated, and as the Greeks and the Romans too sacrifice dogs to Hecate. And among other nations also many other animals are offered in the mystic cults; and sacrifices of that sort take place publicly in their cities once or twice a year. But that is not the custom in the sacrifices which we honour most highly, in which alone the gods deign to join us and to share our table. In those most honoured sacrifices we do not offer fish, for the reason that we do not tend

νέμομεν, μήτε τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, 1'
μήτε ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἀγέλαι καθάπερ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν βοηθούμενα τὰ ζῷα καὶ πληθύνοντα διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν ἡμῖν εἴς τε τὰς ἄλλας χρείας ἐπικουροίη καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τιμητηρίους θυσίας. εἷς μὲν δὴ λόγος οὗτος, δι' ὃν οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν ἰχθὺν ἐν ἁγνείας καιρῷ προσφέρεσθαι τροφήν. ἕτερος δέ, ὃν καὶ μᾶλλον ἡγοῦμαι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἁρμόζειν, ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ δεδυκότες εἶεν ἂν χθονιώτεροι τῶν B
σπερμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀναπτῆναι καὶ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀέρα πρὸς αὐτὰς οὐρανοῦ πτῆναι κορυφὰς δικαίως ἂν ἀποστρέφοιτο πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, μεταθέοι δὲ καὶ μετατρέχοι τὰ τεινόμενα πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ σπεύδοντα πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες καί, ἵνα ποιητικώτερον[1] εἴπω, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁρῶντα.[2] ὄρνισιν οὖν ἐπιτρέπει χρῆσθαι πλὴν ὀλίγων, οὓς ἱεροὺς εἶναι πάντῃ συμβέβηκε, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἔξω τοῦ χοίρου. τοῦτον δὲ ὡς C
χθόνιον πάντῃ μορφῇ τε καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ. περιττωματικός τε γὰρ καὶ παχὺς τὴν σάρκα· τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποκηρύττει τροφῆς. φίλον γὰρ εἶναι πεπίστευται θῦμα τοῖς χθονίοις θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπεικότως. ἀθέατον γάρ ἐστιν οὐρανοῦ τουτὶ τὸ ζῷον, οὐ μόνον οὐ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πεφυκὸς ἀναβλέψαι ποτέ. τοιαύτας μὲν δὴ

[1] ποιητικώτερον Naber, τι καὶ ποιητικὸν Hertlein, MSS.
[2] ὁρμῶντα Naber.

fish, nor look after the breeding of them, and we do not keep flocks of fish as we do of sheep and cattle. For since we foster these animals and they multiply accordingly, it is only right that they should serve for all our uses and above all for the sacrifices that we honour most." This then is one reason why I think we ought not to use fish for food at the time of the rite of purification. The second reason which is, I think, even more in keeping with what I have just said, is that, since fish also, in a manner of speaking, go down into the lowest depths, they, even more than seeds, belong to the under-world. But he who longs to take flight upwards and to mount aloft above this atmosphere of ours, even to the highest peaks of the heavens, would do well to abstain from all such food. He will rather pursue and follow after things that tend upwards towards the air, and strive to the utmost height, and, if I may use a poetic phrase, look upward to the skies. Birds, for example, we may eat, except only those few which are commonly held sacred,[1] and ordinary four-footed animals, except the pig. This animal is banned as food during the sacred rites because by its shape and way of life, and the very nature of its substance—for its flesh is impure and coarse—it belongs wholly to the earth. And therefore men came to believe that it was an acceptable offering to the gods of the under-world. For this animal does not look up at the sky, not only because it has no such desire, but because it is so made that it can never look upwards. These then are the reasons that have been given

[1] Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 3. 5, gives a list of these sacred birds; *e.g.* the owl sacred to Athene, the eagle to Zeus, the crane to Demeter.

αἰτίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποχῆς ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ εἴρηκεν ὁ θεῖος θεσμός· οἱ ξυνιέντες δὲ κοινούμεθα τοῖς D
ἐπισταμένοις θεούς.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἐπιτρέπει χρῆσθαι λέγομεν τοσοῦτον, ὡς οὐ πᾶσιν ἅπαντα,[1] τὸ δυνατὸν δὲ ὁ θεῖος νόμος τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει σκοπῶν ἐπέτρεψε χρῆσθαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐχ ἵνα πᾶσι πάντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρησώμεθα· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐκ εὔκολον· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκείνῳ, ὅτῳ ἄρα
πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τοῦ σώματος συγχωρεῖ[2] δύναμις, 1
εἶτά τις περιουσία συντρέχει καὶ τρίτον ἡ προαίρεσις, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὕτως ἄξιον ἐπιτείνειν, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ὁρμᾶν καὶ προθυμεῖσθαι τοῖς θείοις ἀκολουθεῖν θεσμοῖς. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν ἀνυσιμώτερον αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, εἰ μείζονα λόγον
αὑτῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀσφαλείας E
ποιήσαιτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα μείζονος καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας φαίνεται λεληθότως τῆς ὠφελείας μεταλαγχάνον. ὅταν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ πᾶσαν ἑαυτὴν δῷ τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅλα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψασα τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἑπομένης οἶμαι τῆς ἁγιστείας καὶ πρό γε ταύτης τῶν θείων θεσμῶν ἡγουμένων, ὄντος οὐδενὸς λοιπὸν τοῦ ἀπείργοντος καὶ ἐμποδίζοντος· πάντα γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πάντα περὶ αὐτοὺς ὑφέστηκε καὶ πάντα τῶν θεῶν ἐστι πλήρη· αὐτίκα μὲν αὐταῖς ἐλλάμπει τὸ θεῖον φῶς, θεωθεῖσαι δὲ αὗται τόνον τινὰ καὶ

[1] ἅπαντα Hertlein suggests, ἅπαντας MSS.
[2] συγχωρεῖ Hertlein suggests, συγχωροίη MSS.

by the divine ordinance for abstinence from such food as we ought to renounce. And we who comprehend share our knowledge with those who know the nature of the gods.

And to the question what food is permitted I will only say this. The divine law does not allow all kinds of food to all men, but takes into account what is possible to human nature and allows us to eat most animals, as I have said. It is not as though we must all of necessity eat all kinds—for perhaps that would not be convenient—but we are to use first what our physical powers allow; secondly, what is at hand in abundance; thirdly, we are to exercise our own wills. But at the season of the sacred ceremonies we ought to exert those wills to the utmost so that we may attain to what is beyond our ordinary physical powers, and thus may be eager and willing to obey the divine ordinances. For it is by all means more effective for the salvation of the soul itself that one should pay greater heed to its safety than to the safety of the body. And moreover the body too seems thereby to share insensibly in that great and marvellous benefit. For when the soul abandons herself wholly to the gods, and entrusts her own concerns absolutely to the higher powers, and then follow the sacred rites—these too being preceded by the divine ordinances—then, I say, since there is nothing to hinder or prevent—for all things reside in the gods, all things subsist in relation to them, all things are filled with the gods—straightway the divine light illumines our souls. And thus endowed with divinity they impart a

ῥώμην ἐπιτιθέασι τῷ συμφύτῳ πνεύματι, τοῦτο C δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν στομούμενον ὥσπερ καὶ κρατυνόμενον σωτηρίας ἐστὶν αἴτιον ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι. τὸ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν πάσας τὰς νόσους, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εἶναι τροπῆς καὶ παραφορᾶς συμβέβηκεν, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οἶμαι τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν οὐ φήσει.[1] οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάσας φασίν, οἱ δὲ τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας καὶ ἰαθῆναι χαλεπωτάτας· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν λόγια, φημὶ D δέ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἁγιστείας οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα βοηθείας πολλῆς καὶ σωτηρίας ἀξιοῦται· σώζεσθαι γάρ σφισι καὶ τὸ "πικρᾶς ὕλης περίβλημα βρότειον" οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὑπεράγνοις παρακελευόμενοι τῶν θεουργῶν κατεπαγγέλλονται.

Τίς οὖν ἡμῖν ὑπολείπεται λόγος, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ νυκτὸς μέρει ταῦτα ἀπνευστὶ ξυνεῖραι[2] συγχωρηθεῖσιν, οὐδὲν οὔτε προανεγνωκόσιν οὔτε σκεψαμένοις περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προελομένοις 1 ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρὶν ἢ τὰς δέλτους ταύτας αἰτῆσαι; μάρτυς δὲ ἡ θεός μοι τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, τί τὸ λειπόμενον ἡμῖν ὑμνῆσαι τὴν θεὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου, ὧν δὴ καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐν ταύταις ἔθετο ταῖς ἁγιστείαις ὁ νόμος; ὁρῶ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς τὴν

[1] φήσει Hertlein suggests, φήσειεν MSS.
[2] *Oration* 6. 203 C; Demosthenes, *De Corona* 308, συνείρει . . . ἀπνευστί.

certain vigour and energy to the breath[1] implanted in them by nature; and so that breath is hardened as it were and strengthened by the soul, and hence gives health to the whole body. For I think not one of the sons of Asclepios would deny that all diseases, or at any rate very many and those the most serious, are caused by the disturbance and derangement of the breathing. Some doctors assert that all diseases, others that the greater number and the most serious and hardest to cure, are due to this. Moreover the oracles of the gods bear witness thereto, I mean that by the rite of purification not the soul alone but the body as well is greatly benefited and preserved. Indeed the gods when they exhort those theurgists who are especially holy, announce to them that their "mortal husk of raw matter"[2] shall be preserved from perishing.

And now what is left for me to say? Especially since it was granted me to compose this hymn at a breath, in the short space of one night, without having read anything on the subject beforehand, or thought it over. Nay, I had not even planned to speak thereof until the moment that I asked for these writing-tablets. May the goddess bear witness to the truth of my words! Nevertheless, as I said before, does there not still remain for me to celebrate the goddess in her union with Athene and Dionysus? For the sacred law established their festivals at the very time of her sacred rites. And I recognise the kinship of Athene and the Mother of the Gods

[1] cf. Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals* 736 b. 37, for the breath πνεῦμα, that envelops the disembodied soul and resembles aether. The Stoics sometimes defined the soul as a "warm breath," ἔνθερμον πνεῦμα.

[2] The phrase probably occurred in an oracular verse.

Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν διὰ τῆς προνοητικῆς ἐν ἑκατέραις ταῖς οὐσίαις ὁμοιότητος τὴν συγγένειαν B ἐπισκοπῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημιουργίαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἑνοειδοῦς καὶ μονίμου ζωῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Διὸς ὁ μέγας Διόνυσος παραδεξάμενος, ἅτε καὶ προελθὼν ἐξ ἐκείνου, τοῖς φαινομένοις ἅπασιν ἐγκατένειμεν, ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ βασιλεύων τῆς μεριστῆς συμπάσης δημιουργίας. προσήκει δὲ σὺν τούτοις ὑμνῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον Ἑρμῆν· καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν ὁ C θεὸς οὗτος, ὅσοι λαμπάδας φασὶν ἀνάπτειν Ἄττιδι τῷ σοφῷ. τίς οὖν οὕτω παχὺς τὴν ψυχήν, ὃς οὐ συνίησιν, ὅτι δι᾽ Ἑρμοῦ μὲν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀνακαλεῖται πάντα πανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχοντα τὸ ἕνεκά του [1] πάντῃ καὶ πάντως ὃ τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ἴδιόν ἐστιν; Ἄττις δὲ οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἄφρων, νῦν δὲ ἀκούων διὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν σοφός; ἄφρων μὲν ὅτι τὴν ὕλην εἵλετο καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιτροπεύει, σοφὸς δὲ ὅτι τὸ σκύβαλον τοῦτο εἰς κάλλος D ἐκόσμησε τοσοῦτον καὶ μετέστησεν, ὅσον οὐδεμί᾽ ἂν μιμήσαιτο ἀνθρώπων τέχνη καὶ σύνεσις. ἀλλὰ τί πέρας ἔσται μοι τῶν λόγων; ἢ δῆλον ὡς ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ὕμνος θεοῦ;

Ὦ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων μῆτερ, ὦ τοῦ μεγαλου σύνθωκε καὶ σύνθρονε Διός, ὦ πηγὴ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, ὦ τῶν νοητῶν ταῖς ἀχράντοις οὐσίαις συνδραμοῦσα καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκ πάντων αἰτίαν παραδεξαμένη καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐνδιδοῦσα ζωογόνε θεὰ 18

[1] ἕνεκά του Shorey, ἕνεκα τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.

through the similarity of the forethought that inheres in the substance of both goddesses. And I discern also the divided creative function of Dionysus, which great Dionysus received from the single and abiding principle of life that is in mighty Zeus. For from Zeus he proceeded, and he bestows that life on all things visible, controlling and governing the creation of the whole divisible world. Together with these gods we ought to celebrate Hermes Epaphroditus.[1] For so this god is entitled by the initiated who say that he kindles the torches for wise Attis. And who has a soul so dense as not to understand that through Hermes and Aphrodite are invoked all generated things everywhere, since they everywhere and throughout have a purpose which is peculiarly appropriate to the Logos?[2] But is not this Logos Attis, who not long ago was out of his senses, but now through his castration is called wise? Yes, he was out of his senses because he preferred matter and presides over generation, but he is wise because he adorned and transformed this refuse, our earth, with such beauty as no human art or cunning could imitate. But how shall I conclude my discourse? Surely with this hymn to the Great Goddess.

O Mother of gods and men, thou that art the assessor of Zeus and sharest his throne, O source of the intellectual gods, that pursuest thy course with the stainless substance of the intelligible gods; that dost receive from them all the common cause of things and dost thyself bestow it on the intellectual

[1] The epithet means "favoured by Aphrodite."

[2] In this rendering of λόγος (which may here mean "Reason") I follow Mau p. 113, and Asmus, *Julians Galiläerschrift* p. 31.

καὶ μῆτις καὶ πρόνοια καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν δημιουργέ, ὦ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον ἀγαπῶσα καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ἐκτεθέντα περισωσαμένη καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ γῆς ἄντρον καταδυόμενον ἐπανάγουσα, ὦ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἡγουμένη θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀποπληροῦσα τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, πάντα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθὰ χαρισαμένη, δίδου πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονίαν, B
ἧς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἡ τῶν θεῶν γνῶσίς ἐστι, κοινῇ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, μάλιστα μὲν ἀποτρίψασθαι τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν κηλῖδα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην εὐμενῆ συνδιακυβερνῶσαν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰς χιλιάδας ἐτῶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ καρπὸν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ σὲ θεραπείας ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν δόγμασιν, ἐν θεουργίᾳ τελειότητα, πάντων ἔργων, οἷς προσερχόμεθα περὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς καὶ στρατιωτικὰς πράξεις,[1] ἀρετὴν μετὰ C
τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἄλυπόν τε καὶ εὔδοκιμον μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμᾶς πορείᾳ.

[1] πράξεις Hertlein suggests, τάξεις MSS.

gods; O life-giving goddess that art the counsel and the providence and the creator of our souls; O thou that lovest great Dionysus, and didst save Attis when exposed at birth, and didst lead him back when he had descended into the cave of the nymph; O thou that givest all good things to the intellectual gods and fillest with all things this sensible world, and with all the rest givest us all things good! Do thou grant to all men happiness, and that highest happiness of all, the knowledge of the gods; and grant to the Roman people in general that they may cleanse themselves of the stain of impiety; grant them a blessed lot, and help them to guide their Empire for many thousands of years! And for myself, grant me as fruit of my worship of thee that I may have true knowledge in the doctrines about the gods. Make me perfect in theurgy. And in all that I undertake, in the affairs of the state and the army, grant me virtue and good fortune, and that the close of my life may be painless and glorious, in the good hope that it is to you, the gods, that I journey!

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